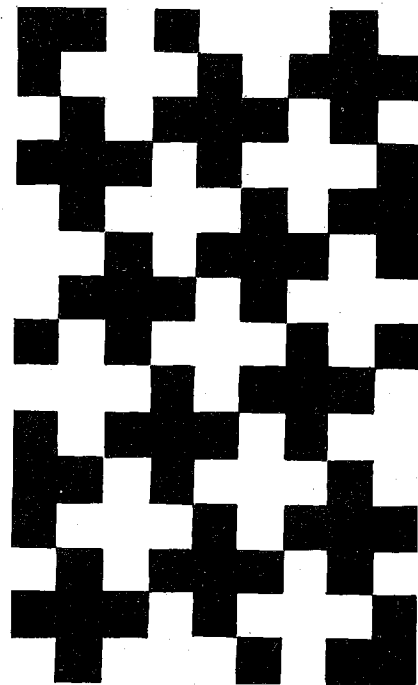


SOBORNOST



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REVIEW

volume2 number2
1980

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The Baptism of St Paul. Fresco at Dečani, Kosovo (14th century)

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Editorial Notes

Sorrow and amazement

What is it that causes 'deep sorrow among the Orthodox' and 'amazement to members of other creeds'? No prizes for the answer, which all good children should have on the tip of their tongue. As Archbishop Paul of Finland has most forcibly reminded us, it is the question — more precisely, the consequences — of the Orthodox diaspora.¹

The days are long past when Rome-centered writers could speak of an 'Eastern' Orthodox Church. There is nothing particularly 'Eastern' about the Orthodox of Australia or the USA. Yet most of them still have Eastern patriarchs to whom they look for guidance. Patriarchs in the plural, moreover: and there's the rub. For the problems of the diaspora only begin with the transfer of old-world allegiances to new situations. They reach their absurd and tragic culmination with the transfer of multiple, irreconcilable and barely relevant allegiances. The unequivocal tradition of having one bishop in one place is spurned in order that the umbilical cords which link different bodies in the one place with a multiplicity of mother Churches shall remain undisturbed. Yet an umbilical cord has a limited function, and there is no reason to suppose that it should have an unlimited life. It is one thing to inherit the faith of one's fathers, another to perpetuate their ethnic and jurisdictional loyalties.

Archbishop Paul's lecture on the subject (May 1979) has been widely distributed. In it he comments on the reports dealing with the diaspora which have been received by the secretariat charged with the preparation of the Great and Holy Council of the Orthodox Church. But he also urges that the question requires far more than these few preliminary reports. It needs to be actively and responsibly discussed well in advance of the Council, the more so since it is one of the most vital and most vexed questions to be brought before it. To bring it to the Council without due preparation is to undermine its proceedings and to justify at least some of the fears once expressed by Archimandrite Justin Popović: for 'such a council, instead of healing, will open up new wounds in the body of the Church and inflict upon her new problems and new misfortunes'.² This being so, Archbishop Paul is moved to ask provocatively whether there is still 'a real intention to hold a Council'.

1. Archbishop Paul of Karelia and All Finland, 'Suggestions for Solutions to the Problem of the Orthodox Diaspora', *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 23:3/4 (1979), pp.186-204. Also: *Souroz. A Journal of Orthodox Life and Opinion* 1 (1980), pp.33-52.
2. Justin Popovich [sic], 'On the Summoning of the "Great Council" of the Orthodox Church', *Orthodox Life* 1 (1978), p.48; quoted in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* xxiv:2/3 (1979), p.119.

Sufficient sorrow?

The question of the diaspora may indeed cause 'deep sorrow among the Orthodox', as is noted by Archbishop Paul. But it might also be said that it does not cause enough. For the greatest impediments to its solution are complacency and stasis. It is no solution to leave the situation as it is. Yet neither are simplistic or phyletic solutions to be recommended. Archbishop Paul certainly makes no bones about his distaste for them.

The situation in which the Orthodox of the diaspora find themselves is without precedent. Precedent can therefore provide no ready panaceas. The ecclesiastical (even the physical) map of the world has changed somewhat since the days when most of the world's Orthodox might be found within the boundaries of the one empire and the rest could be termed 'Christians of the barbarian areas and of foreign tribes'.³ Even the old frontiers would have located the vast majority of present-day Orthodox in barbarian parts. In any case, where are the frontiers of yester-year?

Convergence and co-operation

In their absence the Orthodox are faced with an obligation and an opportunity to be realistic, daring and creative. 'Convergence and co-operation' between the existing jurisdictional structures of the diaspora⁴ is the least that is required on the testing road towards a healthy and authentic *koinonia*. The more there is of such convergence and co-operation, the less rigid, daunting and restrictive will these structures be.

When so much friction and division in the Christian world is caused by substantial differences in doctrine, it is lamentable that the Orthodox fail to manifest their essential unity. They none the less possess it. But it needs to be cherished, nourished, renewed and revealed.

SERGEI HACKEL

3. Paraphrase of canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Council given in the preconcliar report presented by the Patriarchate of Alexandria; quoted by Archbishop Paul, *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, p.191.
4. A phrase from the preconcliar report presented by the Patriarchate of Moscow; quoted (with approval) by Archbishop Paul, *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, p.201.

Baptism in Byzantine Iconography*

CHRISTOPHER WALTER

Among the rites and ceremonies of the Byzantine Church which are represented in art Baptism has special peculiarities. Firstly, Baptism was the only sacrament to be 'conferred' on our Lord. Examples of this subject are the most numerous and provide a kind of paradigm for the others. Secondly, the conferment of Baptism was much more solemn in the Early Church than in later centuries.¹ By the time of the Triumph of Orthodoxy in the 9th century it had already become somewhat perfunctory.² Most Byzantine pictures of Baptism date from this latter period. However the basic formulae for representing Baptism had already been elaborated in the first centuries of Christian art. Consequently Byzantine artists had only to adapt and embellish the formulae which they inherited. Our task here is to establish what was the place of Baptism as an iconographical theme in the decorative programmes of Byzantine art. It is evident that this cannot be done without a preliminary, if cursory, study of the pictures surviving from the period when the iconographical theme was created, followed by a presentation in its general lines of the developments and modifications introduced into the specific theme of the Baptism of Our Lord.

* This article corresponds substantially to a paper read at the Medieval Post-Graduate Seminar, The Courtauld Institute of Fine Arts, London, on 5 November 1979, and again at the Conférence Gabriel Millet, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, 26 January 1980. I thank those present on these two occasions for a number of valuable suggestions. The role of bishops in baptism is not treated here; it has been kept over for the book which I am preparing on *Bishops in Byzantine Art*. New Testament quotations are from The New English Bible. However Psalms are quoted from the Septuagint, with the Septuagint numbers (normally add 1 for the Hebrew), as this was the text used in the Byzantine Church. I am grateful to Anna Muthesius for providing me with figures 1a-2b.

1. The bibliography is immense. Like other sacraments, that of Baptism has been far more intensively studied for the Early Christian than for the Byzantine period. See particularly, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, art. 'Taufe', 9. 1310-23; J.A. Jungmann, *La liturgie des premiers siècles* (Paris 1962), pp.119-36; G. Kretschmar, 'Recent research on Christian Initiation', *Studia Liturgica* 12 (1977), pp.87-106.
2. 'Perfunctory' is perhaps too strong a word; when infant baptism became predominant, it was a matter of course for Christian families to have their children baptized. P. Trempelas, *Micron Euchologion* i (Athens 1961), pp.257-403; Ph. Koukoules, *Vie et Civilisation Byzantines* iv (Athens 1951), pp.43-69; P. De Meester, *Studi sui Sacramenti Amministrati secondo il Rito Bizantino* (Rome 1947), pp.19-30.

Baptism in Early Christian Art

The relevant material consists of bas-reliefs on sarcophagi, carved ivories and paintings in the catacombs. The artists responsible for these early works had been trained in the pagan tradition. Often the same workshop would accept commissions from both pagan and Christian clients. It is clear today that Christian art did not spring autochthonous from the dust of the catacombs; it adapted and continued existing traditions.³ In fact the problem of the Early Christian artist was not different from that of the Early Christian writer, obliged, sometimes with fumbings and ambiguity, to choose in an extant vocabulary the words which were most apt to express the essential mysteries of Christian revelation.

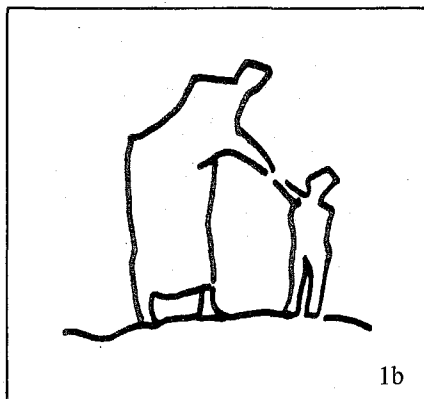
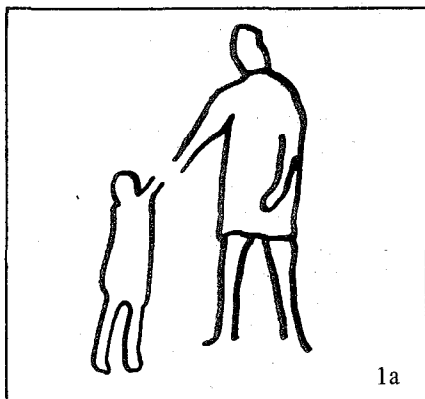
The artist's task was rendered particularly difficult because, while there is a disconcerting lack of detailed explanation in the Gospel accounts as to how John actually conferred baptism (and the Acts are hardly more informative as to the way the Apostles proceeded), in early Christian practice the ceremonial rapidly became extremely complex. Hippolytus tells us that there was a three-year catechumenate, from which soldiers and government officials were excluded; the last preparation before Easter included ascetical exercises and exorcism. In the *Didache* it is said that immersion was normal, although infusion was possible, preferably in running water, no doubt because Christ was baptized in the Jordan; the neophyte turned to the West and renounced Satan before turning to the East; unctions were imposed. The *Didascalia* refers to imposition of hands and ritual drying after immersion; the neophyte would then don his baptismal robe and receive the kiss of peace from the bishop.⁴ It would have been interesting to have portrayed these successive rites along the lines of the Bayeux tapestry, but that apparently was not the way of Early Christian artists.

If the emphasis was to be placed upon immersion, they might have followed a model, current in pagan art, of the First Bath. There are examples of Bacchus and the baby Alexander standing in a basin, while an attendant woman pours in water or tests its heat with her hand.⁵ This model was not, however, adapted by Early Christian artists, perhaps because they were required to portray adult rather than infant Baptism. On the other hand the First Bath often occurs in representations of the Nativity of Christ, the Virgin, John the Baptist and Nicolas of Myra.⁶ Later, indeed, there may have been cross-influence between baptismal scenes and the First

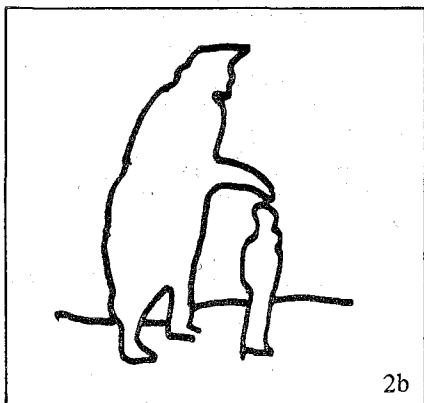
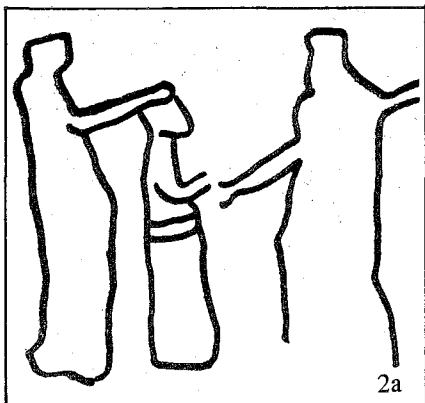
3. A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins* (London 1969).
4. Jungmann, op.cit. (note 1).
5. M. Lawrence, 'Three Pagan Themes in Christian Art', *De Artibus Opuscula* xl (*Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*), (New York 1961), pp.327-31; A. Hermann, 'Das erste Bad des Heilands und des Helden in spätantiken Kunst und Legende', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 10 (1967), pp.61-81.
6. P.J. Norhagen, 'The Origin of the Washing of the Child in the Nativity Scene', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 54 (1961), pp.333-7; Gordana Babić, 'Sur l'iconographie de la composition "Nativité de la Vierge" dans la peinture byzantine', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 7 (1961), pp.169-75; E. Kitzinger, 'The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963), pp.100-5.

Bath, particularly in details such as the shape of the bath or font and the pouring-in of water.

Another possible model was provided by antique scenes, which normally occur in a funerary context, of one personage taking the other by the hand and drawing him upwards. It occurs on a painting stele from Shatbi (1a) and a bas-relief of Hercules bringing up Cerberus from the underworld (1b) in the British Museum.⁷



If this appealed to Early Christian artists, it was, perhaps, because the dominant notion of catacomb art is that of redemption and salvation. It may also imply a certain reflection on the account of our Lord's Baptism in Mark and its typological antecedents in the Old Testament. Our Lord 'came up out of the water' (Mark



7. R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Byzantine Art* (New Haven 1963), p.20, fig. 1.18; K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (Chicago/London 1971), pp.210-11, fig. 199.

1:10), an overt allusion to the oracle in Isaiah 63:11-12, referring to Pharaoh's daughter drawing Moses in his cradle out of the Nile and to the passage of the Israelites across the Red Sea.

Pictures of John drawing our Lord out of the water survive in the catacombs of Peter and Marcellinus (2a) and in the crypt of Lucina (2b), both of which date probably from the 3rd century.⁸ An analogous representation of the Ascension, with the hand of God emerging from the sky to draw up the mounting Christ, occurs on a 5th century ivory in Munich. However this gesture was retained neither for Baptism nor for the Ascension. It persists only in the iconography of the Anastasis, in which the triumphant Christ takes Adam by the hand to draw him upwards out of Hades. If this formula was not retained, it was perhaps because it was too imprecise, too unrelated to current baptismal practice, and, above all, did not correspond to what was in fact considered the most important aspect of the sacrament.

Virtually contemporary with these catacomb pictures is another in which John the Baptist imposes a hand upon Christ's head. Here again an antique model has been copied, of which one example is provided by a political stele dedicated to Athena.⁹ This was the formula which was retained. To understand why, it is necessary to take into consideration the numerous other examples of scenes in Early Christian art in which hands are imposed, as well as the significance of this gesture in Christian tradition. These other scenes, representations of Old Testament events or of Christ's miracles, are concerned with blessing, healing and the conferment of supernatural graces. De Bruyne sums them up as follows: 'The imposition of a hand signifies that a blessing has been given, that a virtue has been transmitted, or that some quality which he did not previously possess has been conferred upon the person on whom the hand is imposed'.¹⁰

This formula is virtually invariable on 3rd and 4th century sarcophagi. In order to define the scene as one of Baptism, it was only necessary to add water and a dove. Moreover, in Early Christian art, the same formula was used both for Christ's Baptism and that of Christian neophytes. Paradoxically, in the wealth of rites and ceremonies which marked the progress of the catechumen on his long journey towards the final act which would admit him as a member of the Church, free him from his sins and imprint on his soul the indelible badge assuring him of eternal life, the one chosen for the iconography of Baptism was strictly speaking not essential to the sacrament. The imposition of hands took place after baptism, conferring the Holy Spirit.¹¹ As a means of communication Christian art was from the beginning

8. L. de Bruyne, 'L'imposition des mains dans l'art chrétien romain', *Rivista dell'Archeologia Cristiana* 20 (1943), p.216.

9. Brilliant, *op.cit.* (note 7), pp.17-18, fig. 1.14.

10. De Bruyne, *art.cit.* (note 8), p.229.

11. J. Coppens, *L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes dans le Nouveau Testament et dans l'église ancienne* (Wetteren/Paris 1925).

simple, direct and lucid. It permits us to conclude that in 'popular religion' the church authorities wished the neophyte to retain that, in being initiated, the essential consequence was that henceforth the Holy Spirit would be the motive force of his life.

Before passing on to Christ's Baptism as a paradigm of this iconographical theme in Byzantine art, it may be à propos to comment upon the tendency to represent the person who baptizes as rather greater in height than the person who is baptized. One possible explanation may be that Christian artists also sought models in representations of pagan initiation rites. Parallel to the Christian artefacts, on which it is not always clear whether Christ's Baptism or that of another personage is represented, there exists a number of cycles in which the initiation of the young Bacchus figures or, alternatively, that of an adept of his cult.¹² The analogy is particularly striking between a bas-relief on a 3rd century Dionysiac sarcophagus now in the Louvre and on a Christian ivory in Berlin (figs. 1 and 2).¹³ The Dionysiac scene seems to refer to the incident recounted by Apollodorus, according to which Zeus, in order to protect Dionysius from the jealous machinations of his spouse, turned the child into a goat and placed him in the care of the nymphs of Nysa.¹⁴ Tentatively it might be advanced that Dionysius is represented here at the moment when he returns to human form. However, whether or not there is an explicit analogy between the subject of the bas-relief and the Baptism on the Christian ivory, the same schema is used on both artefacts. John, like Silenus, holds a staff and inclines slightly towards the diminutive Christ. The gesture is different, for Silenus extends a hand in a way which resembles John drawing Christ out of the water, while, on the ivory, he imposes a hand on Christ's head. The comparison is instructive as to the way in which Early Christian artists set to work. However, in later representations of Baptism, the difference in size between the person baptized and the person baptizing tends to diminish.

The Baptism of our Lord

After the promulgation of the Edict of Milan in 313, the status of the Church in the Roman Empire changed radically, and so did its ideology. Christians no longer constituted an underground Church; they were no longer obliged to keep a low profile. Consequently the message of the art of the catacombs became redundant. It was no longer necessary for the Church to insist that the game was, as it were, worth the candle, that God could and would intervene to save the faithful from their persecutors, and that the trials of this life would be infinitely compensated in

12. R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic World, Three Modes of Artistic Influence* (Leiden 1972), pp.3-25.

13. *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs* iv, ed. F. Matz (*Die dionysischen Sarkophage* iii) (Berlin 1969), no. 222 (Louvre no. 1346), pp.394-6, dated 230-40; W.F. Volbach, *Elfenarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz 1952), no. 112, p.59, pl.34.

14. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* II.4.3. ed. I. Bekker (Leipzig 1854), p.80 (there are various versions of this legend).

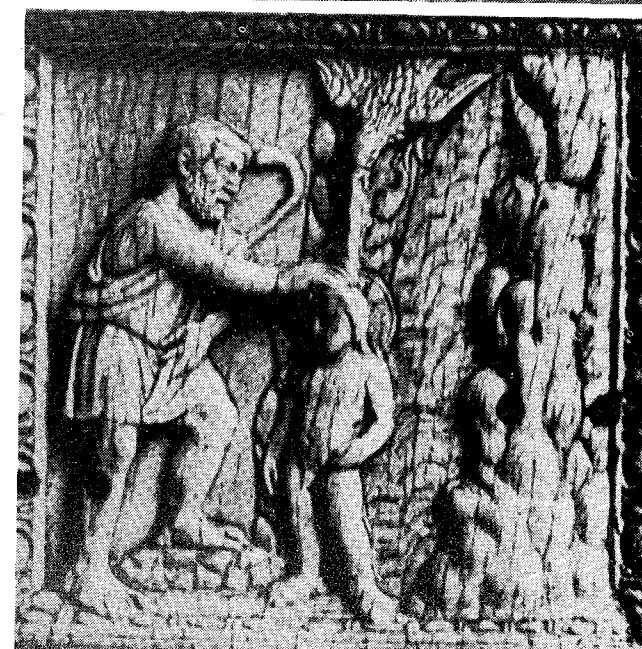
Figure 1:

Zeus returns Dionysius to human form. Bas-relief, Dionysiac sarcophagus, Louvre (c.230-40).



Figure 2:

The Baptism of Christ. Early Christian ivory, Berlin



text is not quoted in the homily. A mere allusion to the 'fishermen' chosen by Christ was sufficient pretext to justify twelve pictures of an apostle imposing his hand on the head of a naked personage standing in a sunken font, while a veiled person stands to one side, apparently holding a cloth with which to dry and envelop the neophyte. The fonts, varying in shape, would certainly have been an anachronism in apostolic times. However they correspond closely to those in vogue in the post-Constantinian epoch and may still have been in use in the 9th century.

From this period date also the earliest extant pictures of Philip the Deacon baptizing the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26-39). These pictures are out of context. They occur in the *Khludov Psalter* (Moscow, State Historical Museum 129 D f 65), and in the *Pantocrator Psalter* (Athos Pantocrator 61 f 85v).¹⁹ They illustrate Psalm 67:32, where allusion is made to Ethiopia. The scene is simple. The eunuch, with long hair, is plunged in a river up to his neck, while Philip imposes a hand on his head. The picture was probably created to illustrate the Acts of the Apostles. However no early example of an illuminated version of this text exists: in Early Christian art only the episode of Philip seated in the eunuch's chariot and explaining Isaiah's prophecy to him is represented. Before the baptismal scene occurs in its proper context in a 14th century wall-painting at Dečani (Kosovo), it has had a distinguished career in Psalter illustration, commenting the same Psalm.²⁰ It even appears in an illustrated Life of Philip the Apostle, sometimes confused with Philip the Deacon (*Athos Dochiariou* 5 f 3v).

Pictures of Peter baptizing a member of the family of Cornelius painted around 1100 in the cathedral of St Sophia, Kiev, and of the conversion of St Paul in the Palatine chapel at Palermo, dating from the late 12th century, may also be related to later stages in Byzantine expansion.²¹ In both cases an elevated font, of the kind which was used when infant baptism became current, is portrayed.²²

No ingenious explanation is necessary, however, for the many pictures illustrating Gospels, Lectionaries and Homilies for liturgical feasts when they accompany a reference in the text to John the Baptist or the apostles baptizing. Sometimes the artist represents Baptism in a river, sometimes in the kind of font used in his times. Invariably the person baptizing imposes his hand on the head of the neophyte, who may extend his hands in a gesture of supplication or hold them crossed on his chest.

19. M.V. Shchepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoi psaltyri* (Moscow 1977); Suzy Dufrenne, *Illustration des Psautiers grecs du Moyen Age i* (Paris 1966), p.27, pl.11.

20. Suzy Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques de 15 Psautiers médiévaux* (Paris 1978); Luba Ellen, 'Acts Illustration in Italy and Byzantium', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977), p.269, fig. 24.

21. Gordana Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines* (Paris 1969), pp.106-7, fig. 71, Ellen, art.cit. (note 20), p.269 and appendix.

22. A. Frantz, *The Athenian Agora xx: The Church of the Holy Apostles* (Princeton 1971), p.17, pl.10d. Other examples are known, but no general study exists.

Conversions

Somewhat different from the accounts of the evangelical activity of the apostles are those of an individual person's acceptance of the Christian faith, followed by a request for Baptism. The first examples in the written sources occur in the Lives of martyrs. They continue in the post-Constantinian epoch up to the time of the conversion of the Slavs. It is impossible to know exactly when these histories of conversion were first illustrated. Such information as we have suggests that artists in the pre-iconoclast period limited their attention, in illustrating the Lives of saints, to their martyrdom and their miracles.

Consequently this too may be a 9th century innovation. At any rate it is in the same illuminated manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzen (*Paris. graec.* 510) that we find the first examples. The pattern is established in this manuscript: some prodigy convinces the person that Christianity is the true faith; he asks for Baptism; he receives the sacrament. Gregory's homilies, particularly those delivered on the feast of a saint, or as a funerary oration, tend to be biographical. That delivered on the death of his father (bishop of Nazianzus before him) tells how his father heard in a dream a voice reciting Psalm 121: 'I rejoiced when they said to me, "Let us go to the house of the Lord".' He is represented lying on his bed with his wife Nonna standing beside him. He is then shown inclined before a bishop, who makes a gesture of blessing. Next follows a picture of Gregory's father in a sunken font, while the bishop imposes his hand. The font is surrounded by an aureole because, according to the account it was miraculously illuminated when the sacrament was being conferred (f 87v).²³

In his Homily on Saint Cyprian, a converted musician (f 332v), Gregory speaks only of Cyprian being 'counted among Christians'. To illustrate this phrase a picture of Cyprian's Baptism figures in the frontispiece.²⁴ Later examples occur in the illustrations to the collection of Lives of saints assembled by Symeon the Metaphrast in the 10th century. Eustathius, a popular figure in the West as well as the East, saw a crucifix placed between the antlers of the stag which he was hunting. He too was duly converted and baptized along with his wife and children. In the 11th and 12th century examples which have survived, one in the British Library (*Londin. Add MSS.* 11870, f 151), and the other on Mount Athos (*Esphigmenou* 14 f 52), the prodigy is represented, followed by Baptism in an elevated font (fig. 3).²⁵ Such examples could be multiplied.

Similar in genre are the illustrations to a Byzantine 'best seller', the *History of Barlaam and Joasaph*, a Christianized version of the Life of Buddha, which may have reached Constantinople by way of Georgia. This tells how Joasaph, an Indian

23. H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1929), pp.18-19, pl.xxx.

24. Omont, op.cit. (note 23), pp.26-7, pl.xlvii.

25. C. Walter, 'The illuminated Metaphrastic Lives in the British Library' (to be published in *Revue des études byzantines* 39 (1981)); *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, ed. S.M. Pelekanides et al. ii (Athens 1975), fig. 239.

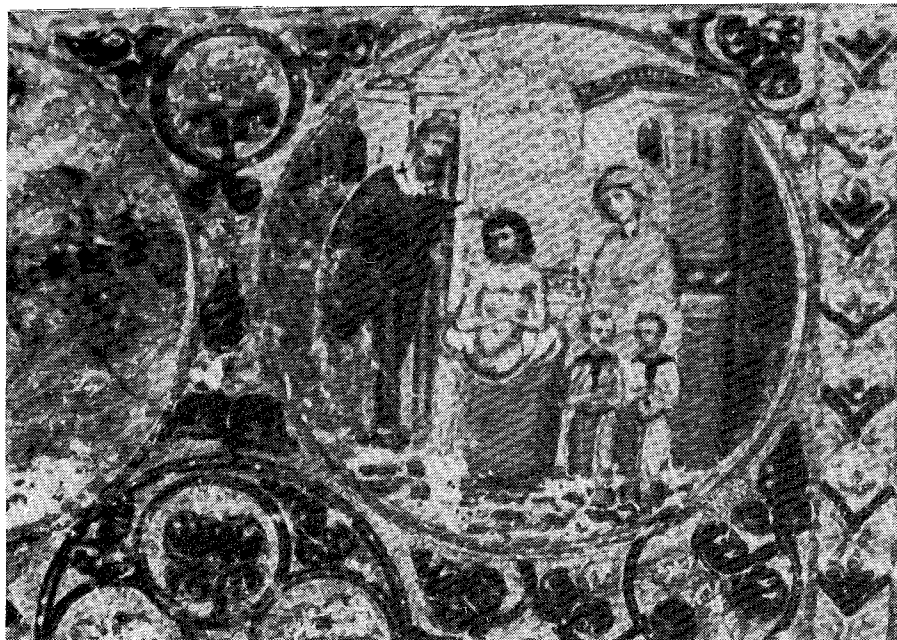


Figure 3: *The Baptism of Eustathius, British Library (Add. MSS 11870 f. 151).*

prince, was converted by the monk Barlaam. Joasaph's father Abenner instructs a sorcerer Nachor to alienate Joasaph from the Christian faith. However Nachor is himself converted, and, in due course, king Abenner also succumbs. Thus there were three conversions to illustrate, and, since there survive numerous illuminated manuscripts of this work, they provide an abundant documentation on the practice of Baptism.²⁶ Generally the simple formula of the imposition of a hand upon the converted personage in an elevated font is used, irrespective of the circumstantial details in the text. In a late copy of the 14th or 15th century (*Paris. graec.* 1128 f 176) Joasaph, dressed as a prince, stands by holding a cloth with which to enwrap his father when he emerges from the font. For the sorcerer Nachor a scene in which he asks for Baptism sometimes precedes the conferment of the sacrament, as, for example, in one of the earliest versions, that of Athos (*Iviron* 463 f 87), dating from the 11th century, as well as in the Paris copy (fig. 4).

This may be the place to add a word on the baptism of women converts. Since it was the practice to receive the sacrament naked, the baptism of women was not

26. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du roman Barlaam et Joasaph* (Paris 1937), pp.168-70.



Figure 4: *Nachor asks for Baptism and is baptised (Paris graec. 1128f. 144^v).*

directly illustrated, for reasons of *pudeur*. Instead there was substituted a rather more solemn scene of the woman convert asking for Baptism. In the *Menologion* of Basil II (*Vatican. graec.* 1613 f 98) the convert Pelagia stands before Bishop Nonnus of Antioch, who, seated on a throne, extends a hand in a conversation gesture.²⁷ The scene is represented in the same way at Dečani (Kosovo) (fig. 5).²⁸ Here it is yet more solemn, for the throne is more majestic, Nonnus holds his episcopal staff in his right hand, and an acolyte stands beside the throne holding a taper. Somewhat similar is the scene in the illuminated Chronicle of Skylitzes in Madrid (f 135), in which the converted Russian Princess Olga asks the Emperor to be received into the Church.²⁹

This same illuminated Chronicle contains two miniatures of historical conversions.³⁰ One illustrates the Baptism of Boris, ruler of the Bulgars (f 68v). Although

27. C. Stornajolo, *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (Vatican/Milan 1907) p.98.

28. In the wall-calendar at the date of Pelagia's liturgical commemoration, 8 October, P. Mijović, *Menolog* (Belgrade 1973), p.322, fig. 184.

29. *Skyllitzes matritensis*, ed. S.C. Estopañan (Barcelona/Madrid 1965), p.142, fig. 340.

30. Estopañan, op.cit. (note 29), pp.92, 141-2, fig. 177, 338; A. Grabar and M. Manoussacas, *L'illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid* (Venice 1979), nos. 172 and 331.



Figure 5: *St Pelagia before Bishop Nonnus of Antioch*
(wall-calendar, Dečani).

the text attributes his baptism to the monk Methodius, a bishop in fact confers the sacrament according to the traditional formula, while an assistant stands to one side holding the richly decorated cloth in which Boris is to be enveloped. The other illustrated the conversion of the 'Turkish' (Hungarian) Prince Volosodes (f 134v). The Emperor Constantine VII, who stood as godfather to the Prince, holds the cloth, while a formidable array of bishops preside at the ceremony.

Another Chronicle, that of Manasses, was translated into Bulgarian and illuminated at Tirnovo in the 14th century. The miniatures in general seem to follow closely a Byzantine original now lost. However, intercalated in the Bulgarian text, is a reference to the conversion of the Bulgars and the Russians. In each case it is brief, merely mentioning that the Bulgars were baptized in the reign of Michael III (842-67) and his mother, and the Russians in the reign of Basil I (867-86). Consequently the two miniatures may well be copied from others illustrating a more developed account. That for the Bulgars (f 163v), with two royal personages standing to the left, while the bishop extends a hand in a gesture of blessing towards the person in the font who seems to be requesting Baptism, differs from other representations in several respects. That for the Russians (f 166v), is also unusual in that the

ceremony takes place in a river. It is, in fact, the unique example of a non-apostolic baptism in a river. Possibly we may see here an allusion to the baptism of the first Russian converts in the Dnieper.³¹

A final group of pictures is constituted by those in which a saint makes an exceptional conversion. A series of frescoes, now sadly defaced, illustrates the apocryphal Life of Basil of Caesarea by the pseudo-Amphilocius in an 11th century church, Balkan Deresi 4, Cappadocia.³² The episode in question is the conversion by Basil of a Jew and his family. Here the picture corresponds to the usual type, with the Jew standing naked in a font, while his wife, to one side, awaits her turn. In the parecclesion of Euthymius, to the right of the sanctuary of the basilica of St Demetrius in Thessaloniki, the saint is baptizing the Saracen Aspebetos, whose child he had miraculously healed.³³ The fresco dates from the 13th century, but follows more or less accurately the account in the 10th century Metaphrastic Life of Euthymius. The gesture of Euthymius imposing his hand is conventional, but it is surprising at this late date to find that the font is of the archaic sunken type. A group of people in hoods and mantles stands behind the font.

Doctrinal scenes

It has to be accepted with regret and resignation that there exist no illuminated Byzantine manuscripts of doctrinal treatises on Baptism, nor of *Euchologia*. Even to render plausible the hypothesis that such manuscripts, no longer extant, did once exist would be a hazardous enterprise. On the other hand pictures of doctrinal import figure very occasionally in other manuscripts, normally in the guise of a commentary. These pictures are to be found in Psalters and the 'liturgical' edition of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzen. To these may be added a few pictures in which an overt allusion to Baptism occurs.

The cases of Philip the Deacon baptizing the Ethiopian eunuch, prompted by a reference to Ethiopia in Psalm 67, have already been noted. *Vatican graec.* 752, an 11th century Psalter accompanied by a commentary, contains two pictures of Baptism of a rather different order.³⁴ Psalm 7 (f 29v) is illustrated as a picture of Christ baptizing the Hebrews. To the left of a font, placed on a high pedestal, stands Christ, accompanied by his disciples; he imposes his hand on the person standing in the font. To the right is a group of Hebrews awaiting their turn. The illustration refers less to the Psalm than to the commentary of the pseudo-Athanasius in the margin. This author remarks that David prophesied that people would be

31. I. Dujčev, *Minijature Manasijevoeg letopisa* (Sofia/Belgrade 1965), nos. 57 and 58. The suggestion that the Dnieper is represented here is purely hypothetical. Perhaps literary or legendary sources give information as to how the first Russians were baptized.
32. C. Walter, 'Biographical scenes of the Three Hierarchs', *Revue des études byzantines* 36 (1978), pp.245-7, pl.1.
33. Thalia Gouma-Paterson, 'The Parecclesion of St Euthymios in Thessalonika: Art and Monastic Policy under Andronicus II', *The Art Bulletin* 58 (1976), pp.168-83, fig. 13.
34. E. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint iii* (Psalms and Odes 2) *Vaticanus graecus* 752 (Princeton 1942), pp.9, 25, plates xvii, xxxiv.

sensation of revelation. For Baptism they ultimately fixed upon the gesture of imposing a hand in a schema, possibly borrowed from pictures of non-Christian initiation rites, in which the person baptizing was much larger in scale than the person being baptized. The gesture normally occurs in scenes like healing, where supernatural grace intervenes. It signifies the reception of the Holy Spirit. The choice may be surprising, given that the dominant theme of catacomb art is liberation and redemption. However, the descent of the Spirit on Christ may have motivated the choice.

Anyhow the choice gave satisfaction. Imposition of a hand is the focal point of all subsequent developments in baptismal iconography. With the advent of the Emperor Constantine, the Baptism of Christ becomes a distinct theme of Byzantine art — a Theophany, for Christ's divinity was made manifest when John baptized him. In late Byzantine art this is underlined by representing above Christ the heavens open and the throne of God. Angels are sometimes present, holding a cloth, like acolytes, in which to enwrap Christ when he emerges from the waters. Other details, like a personification of the river Jordan, may be included in the scene.

As a sacrament, Baptism is represented either in scenes of the apostles evangelizing, or in scenes of conversion, whether in the Life of a saint who professes the Christian religion, or on the occasion of an unusual conversion — of a Jew, for example, or a Saracen. However, Baptism was not represented in the Life of a saint who was born into a Christian family, although his first bath, a subject which dates back to antiquity, is sometimes shown, as for the Child Jesus and for the Virgin. Except for conversions occurring in apostolic times, like that of the Ethiopian eunuch, baptism is normally represented as administered in a font, sometimes of the primitive sunken kind, sometimes raised. Fonts may figure in New Testament scenes of baptism, where they are clearly anachronistic. On the whole these pictures are simple. However elements from the rite may be introduced, such as acolytes holding tapers, the baptismal robe, the participation of godparents. The person being baptized is invariably naked, standing either with his arms beside his body, or with his arms crossed in front of his body, or with his hands extended in a gesture of prayer. The baptism of women was not represented; in its place was substituted a scene of asking for the sacrament, such as sometimes precedes the scene which represents the baptism of a man.

If Baptism was regularly a theme associated with conversion, it may be because, once infant baptism had become the rule, it was taken for granted in a Christian society. The unique picture of a 'routine' infant baptism occurs in the *Madrid Scylitzes* (f 112). It differs from all the others, because the imperial baby is not placed in the font; the officiating bishop holds him above it with the child's hands apparently extended in prayer, while the godparents stand on the other side, holding a cloth in which to enwrap the baby.⁴¹

41. Estopañan, op.cit. (note 29), p.121, fig. 266; Grabar and Manoussacas, op.cit. (note 30), p.259.

A few 'doctrinal' scenes of Baptism illustrates Psalters and other manuscripts. From the text with which they are associated it can be inferred that in the Byzantine epoch, although the imposition of a hand remained the essential gesture, Baptism was conceived rather as the occasion when a man's sins were remitted, his life was renewed and his soul was illuminated. This phenomenon of an iconographical type persisting but its significance being modified is relatively common. It has its parallels in language. For example, the Anglican ritual for Baptism refers to the neophyte becoming a *lively* member of the Church. But in the 20th century this word hardly corresponds to the sense attributed to it by the master of the English language who composed the text.

St Ephrem's Dialogue of Reason and Love*

ROBERT MURRAY

In this article is presented another hymn of St Ephrem the Syrian (c.303-73) in translation with commentary, following on previous examples in *Sobornost* and *ECR*.¹ The present hymn is no. 9 in the collection entitled 'On the Church', though in fact the subjects are various.² In this poem Ephrem tells us about a debate which occurred inside his own mind, about the possibility and the rightness of our trying to say things about God and his nature. Though it is a poem, of the kind called *madrasha* (teaching song), designed to be sung for the instruction and pleasure of Ephrem's Christian audience, it shows Ephrem as an early exponent of a fundamental theme in theology, namely the dialectic between the realization that our finite minds cannot grasp God or encapsulate him in human terms (the way of negation or the 'apophatic' way) and the experience that Christ, the Scriptures and the created world in their respective ways do speak to us truly about God and therefore allow us to respond in a way which cannot be entirely invalid (the way of affirmation or the 'cataphatic' way). This dialectic is one which every believer has to pursue, now stepping this way, now that, and finding a practical balance; the traditional balance recognizes that human language can be applied 'analogically' to God.

For Ephrem's enterprise, a dialogue form was naturally appropriate. Not that he goes so far as to personify his two lines of argument. He wrote several dramatic debates, but in the present case he merely describes to us how the debate inside his mind proceeded. However, the poem is a kind of variant of the dramatic contest poem, a literary form which flourished in ancient Mesopotamia many centuries before Ephrem and which still lives on in modern Syriac and in other cultures of the near East.³ Ephrem has two series of this kind of poem, one in the collection of

* Given as a paper at the 1979 Conference of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius.

1. See *Sobornost/ECR* 1:1 (1979), pp.39-50, for the last translation by the present writer and p.39, notes 1 and 2 for previous examples. Incidentally, by an oversight on my part it was not stated in that article that the hymn translated there is *Hymns on Virginity*, 31.
2. For the critical edition see below, notes following the Hymn.
3. Ephrem's dependence on this tradition was observed by P. Grelot in 'Un poème de Saint Ephrem: Satan et la Mort', *L'Orient Syrien* III (1958), 443-52. S.P. Brock has summarised the history of the genre briefly in 'The Dispute Poem: From Sumer to Syriac', *Bayn al-Nahraysn* 7(28) (1979). A much fuller historical sketch by the present writer has been awaiting publication in the *Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society* for some three years.

hymns preserved in Armenian, in which two forms of celibate asceticism, Virginity and 'Consecration' (the state of married people who renounce marital relations to live in abstinence for Christ's sake) debate their respective merits,⁴ while in the other series Satan and Death, or Sheol (the underworld personified) dispute their respective claims to have harmed mankind the most, and then together have to acknowledge the risen Christ as their conqueror.⁵ As a poet and theologian Ephrem is both traditional and original; he inherited both the Christian tradition which saw Christ's conquest of death and Sheol as the central mystery of the Resurrection, and the ancient literary tradition of the contest-poem; but he alone fused the two in dramatic poems which may well have been acted so as to impress the audience more vividly. The contest style is considerably modified in the present hymn but is still recognizable as the literary mould in which his creative thought began.

Theologically speaking, the debate is between the apophatic (negative) and the cataphatic (affirmative) approaches to the attempt to talk about God. The first thing which strikes a Westerner is which part of Ephrem takes which side. In a Western way of thinking would not Reason take the side of trying to venture positive statements, and would it not be Love which would insist on keeping the divine mystery intact, approachable only in adoration? But for Ephrem it is the other way round. Reason insists — almost brutally — that the attempt to penetrate the nature of God is both folly and blasphemy, while Love simply has to praise and respond to the revelation and experience of himself which God himself has given. In another way the struggle is between Ephrem the theologian and Ephrem the poetic visionary and hymn-writer. It is a real struggle, for he was profoundly convinced intellectually — we may truly say philosophically — of the impossibility of encapsulating God in human language, and he saw the radical error of the Arians as lying here, in their failure to respect the total transcendence of God as they argued about the relations of Father and Son. But at the same time his love of Scripture, the written Word of God, and his vision of the whole world as 'charged with the grandeur of God' and marked by symbols of his nature and ways (especially of Christ, his Cross and Resurrection), convinced him that God himself has taught us to respond, however inadequately, in the language which he himself has been pleased to use towards us.

Ephrem's way of holding and expressing this tension can truly be said to anticipate what was to become the classic doctrine of 'analogy' in speaking of God.⁶ Indeed, deeper study of Ephrem is revealing him more and more as an anticipator.

4. The hymns are published in *Patrologia Orientalis* XXX (1961). There is a French translation of the series on Virginity and 'Consecration' by F. Graffin in *L'Orient Syrien* VI (1961), 213-42.
5. This series is in the *Carmina Nisibena* (CSCO 240/Syr. 102; German translation in next volume); E.T., from an older text but satisfactory, by J.T.S. Stopford in *Select Library of [...] Fathers* (Oxford 1898), pp.206-19.
6. In what follows I summarize some of a little-accessible article, R. Murray, 'The Theory of Symbolism in St Ephrem's Theology', *Parole de l'Orient* VI-VII (1975-76), pp.1-20, esp. 9ff.

A recent dissertation by a Maronite scholar, Fr Guy Fouad Noujaim, on Ephrem's theological anthropology and his view of the economy of salvation, based on a study of a pair of concepts which Ephrem frequently contrasts, the hidden (*kasya*) and the revealed (*galya*), has explored the quality of Ephrem's theological thought, developed as it is in entirely native Semitic categories under minimal hellenistic influence.⁷ Fr Noujaim shows how Ephrem's positive view of created nature as revelatory, even 'sacramental', anticipates Maximus the Confessor by three centuries.⁸ This aspect of Ephrem's poetic vision has been illuminated for English readers by S.P. Brock and Fr P. Yousif.⁹ On the other side, Ephrem's insistence on the 'apophatic' way in speaking of God himself is relentless. Nevertheless he constantly reflects on the fact that God's revealed word in the Bible uses human terms, or 'names' (*shmaha*), and adopts images drawn from this world, to speak of God:

Creature with Creator cannot be compared,
for their very names are incommensurate,
and even more than their names are the essences different . . .

And yet, continues Ephrem,

The Lord, the Merciful One, when he put on our names,
humbled himself by images, even to the mustard-seed.
He gave us his names and accepted our names from us.
His names made us great while our names made him small.¹⁰

Ephrem's fundamental charge against the Arians (even prior to their actual doctrinal error) is that they claim to fathom God's ineffable nature by human investigation and language. They think they can talk the same way about God as about human nature. In his Gospel Commentary Ephrem has a passage criticizing blind literalism — what today we call fundamentalism — and he clearly finds this akin to the basic fault of Arianism.¹¹ His answer to the Arians is 'Yes, God has indeed given us the terms to use; he has taken 'names' from our earthly sphere; he has revealed his ineffable name YHWH in the Old Testament, and in the New Testament God has become incarnate and approachable by the human name Jesus. But God has not done any of this in such a way as to allow us to fathom his mystery,

7. 'Anthropologie et Economie de Salut chez Saint Ephrem', diss. at Gregorian University, Rome, 1980.

8. Noujaim, p.256, commenting on the claim made by H. Urs von Balthasar, *Liturgie Cosmique* (Paris 1957), pp.47-8.

9. S.P. Brock, 'World and Sacrament in the Writings of the Syriac Fathers', *Sobornost* 6:10 (1974), 685-96; 'The Poet as Theologian', *ibid.*, 7:4 (1977), 243-50; P. Yousif, 'St Ephrem on Symbols in Nature [...]', *ECR* x 1-2 (1978), pp.52-60.

10. *H Fid* (see abbreviations in notes following the Hymn) 5, 6-7 quoted more fully in Murray, 'The Theory [...]' (n.6 above), p.11.

11. Translated in Murray, 'The Theory [...]', p.6.

grasp him exhaustively by means of our concepts or sit in judgement on him. The Arians, with their 'prying', as Ephrem calls it, fall into this fault. Ephrem's reply is to say that we can indeed speak of God, but by means of images; and we must never forget that they are only images and symbols. Yet, as such, they can be charged with great power; the Syriac word *raz* first means 'secret knowledge' or 'mystery', then refers to all symbolic concepts and language, and finally the great developed symbolic acts of the Church which we call sacraments.

Ephrem has no developed philosophy of how the power of symbols has its effect; but if he could have worked out the implications of his theological method, I think he might have come to something like the philosophy of Paul Ricoeur,¹² for whom 'le symbole donne à penser', yet there are right and wrong ways of trying to 'unpack' the power of symbols. Rationalizing, demythologizing and complicated allegorizing are all processes which abuse the inner vitality of symbolism; it must be allowed to work in its own way, feeding the mind by warming the heart. This is the way God speaks to us through his creation; this is the way Jesus taught, and every good teacher teaches, a way which today is called 'heuristic', because it encourages 'finding', the experience of disclosure, by the learner.

We might try to set out Ephrem's position, as it can be constructed from his anti-Arian *Hymns on Faith* and his *Prose Refutations* of other heretics, by a scheme such as the following:

WRONG (Arians)

1. Mistaken confidence in reason as all-competent: leads to PRESUMPTION.
2. Literalism and rationalism; failure to distinguish levels of thought and find the mean between equivocal and univocal; subjecting God to limited human concepts: tends to DETERMINISM.
3. Confidence in argument leads to QUARRELS AND SCHISMS.

RIGHT

1. Acknowledge inadequacy of reason and of all concepts and symbols: HUMILITY.
2. Prefer use of symbols, because of their power to encourage 'heuristic' experience in which FREE WILL is in play.
3. Prefer CONTEMPLATION of God's mystery and PRESERVATION OF CHARITY.

Of the three points on either side, the second is the subtlest. Ephrem is among the Fathers of the Church who have laid the greatest emphasis on the reality and value of the gift of free will to mankind. Indeed, in his stress on what we can do in response to God, to Western eyes he might almost appear 'Pelagian'; but this would be to misunderstand both the very serious movement which Pelagianism was, and

12. Cf. Murray, 'The Theory [...]', p.16. A good introduction to Ricoeur's thought in this field is his *Le Conflit des Interprétations* (Paris 1969), esp. pp.282-329.

the fact that in the typical Eastern patristic view of human nature, its fallenness and how it is healed, there never was a 'Pelagian crisis'. Ephrem's emphasis on human free will does not in fact deny the primacy or supremacy of grace. But he is convinced that determinism, both in our understanding of the cosmos, in psychology and in ethics is a grave error; and intellectually the Arians fall into it by their rationalistic approach to theology, which tends to make the divine Persons into what Ephrem calls 'bound natures' (that is, determined and predictable) instead of free. Following on the error of presumption in their enterprise, the Arians' error of 'determinism' in their wooden theological method leads them to produce disastrous practical fruits, which Ephrem found on all sides in Edessa when in 363 he moved there from his native Nisibis, recently ceded to the Persians. His great series of *Hymns on Faith* present his response to the Arian crisis.

The right approach, sketched in the right-hand column, is by now doubtless clear enough. The humility recommended is not abject, but simply acknowledges our position as creatures before our Creator. To recognize the limitations of our minds and our language is to appreciate their real strength, which lies in vision and insight, the power to 'read between the lines' of all creation and thereby to be led upwards to realize truths about the Creator. We must understand that all that we can see, understand or ourselves 'create' is on the created and limited level; but symbols can have great power if they are allowed to work in their proper way, inviting a 'heuristic' response, in which we are free to speak to God in love, as 'Thou', and do not try to grasp him as an object. Thus a symbolic method in theology works in the opposite way to the determinism of rationalism; and because it fosters true freedom, it trusts others and lets them find their own ways of expressing their faith. Thus the contemplative method of Ephrem fosters charity and unity where controversy hinders it — an insight as true in his century as in that of Richard Baxter or our own.

Before coming to the hymn for which the above serves as preface, we may look at a few shorter extracts which illustrate Ephrem's method. As we saw, names, like all human terms, belong to our world but can address God; above all, the name of the incarnate Word. At the end of an acrostic hymn which only gets as far as *yod*, the initial letter of Jesus in Syriac, Ephrem prays:

Jesus, glorious name,
Secret bridge which leads
across from death to life,
to you I have come and stopped,
at *yod* your letter I am held.
Be a bridge for my speech,
that it may cross to the truth.
Make your love a bridge for your servant:
by you let me cross to your Father.
Let me cross and say 'Blessed be he
who made his might gentle through his Child!' (*H Fid 6, 17*)¹³

Our images are weak and inadequate, yet have a certain validity because God has chosen to use them:

See, every comparison	which is sketched and worked out,
if it sufficed to depict	[its object with] perfection,
would be found to be no figure	but reality itself.
It is necessary that shadows	should pass away.
From a net that wears out	and a seed-grain of summer
our Saviour for our sake	made parables of the kingdom.

The insights of parables	are weak and inadequate,
the outreach of images	is feeble and fails.
[Yet] in their humble height	they stand to reproach
him who is proud	and lifts himself up.
For if he is unable	to penetrate images,
What madness, to grasp at	the height of God's grandeur!

(*H Fid 42, 11-12*)

About human free will, the point made above, that the 'heuristic' method is appropriate to our nature, is my own reading of the implications of several passages, rather than explicitly formulated by Ephrem. But the following, on how grace works through our own freedom, clearly points in the direction of the understanding expounded above:

See his kindness!	Though he could have made us fair
by force, without toil,	he has toiled in every way
that we might become fair	by our own choice,
ourselves the artists	of our own fairness:
using the colours	our own freedom had gathered.
If he himself had beautified us	we had been but an image
painted and beautified	with the colours of another artist.

(*H Fid 31, 5*)

HYMN ON THE CHURCH (number 9)

1. Never, when I would draw near [you],
can I forget my nature's weakness;
when I contemplate you in silence
it would be too much for me if I could understand.
[Yet] no one blames a baby
for making free with those whom he knows;

13. For abbreviations see notes following the Hymn. This and the following translations are taken from 'The Theory [...]', pp.14, 16-17.

his childishness is not blamed by those who understand.
 [Then] do not blame us for making bold with you
 (for who dare gaze on you?)
 It is love that has stirred up my littleness
 to sing praises in presence of your majesty.

Refrain: Turn me to You, O Lord, that free from fear
 I may sing to your glory, as best I may!

2. Dear Lord, I grow weak at both —
 my self-knowledge and my awareness of you!
 That earth should make free with your loftiness
 and dust with your majesty!
 Your teaching is new wine,
 which ennobles everyone who becomes drunk with it;
 through it he forgets his weakness
 and fearlessly dares to speak,
 overcoming timidity and silence.
 Through your love my harp has grown daring.
 Play on it, Lord, as you are used to do!
 Tauten its slackened strings,
 that its music may resound to your praise!

3. My Reason began to address me.
 Calmly yet sternly it spoke,
 vehemently questioning,
 yet gently counselling
 that I should be fearful and modest;
 I should not be stubborn or scornful
 nor turn aside to contempt or presumption.
 By its vehemence [Reason] pulled me up
 and by its gentleness instructed me:
 'It is enough for you, O Weakling,
 to offer praise in silence'.
 Blessed be He who through insight
 has made silence mightier than the tongue!

4. [Now] the counsel of Love amazed me
 so that silence I utterly scorned:
 'Look', it said, 'at John,
 who by his love overcame trepidation
 and the force of fear by his ardour,

and by his voice, the hush of silence.
 Even to the awesome heights of the Godhead
 fearlessly he ascended,
 and leant on the breast of Power
 and asked the hidden secret
 and received the revealed explanation.
 Blessed be He who gave more bliss
 to that Speaker than to the silent!

5. But Reason rejoined in anger:
 'Tell us, you weakling,
 about your time in the womb;
 when did you begin it,
 and bound for where did you end it?
 In the womb you had no self-awareness,
 either of what or of where you were.
 In Sheol, too, you will not know where your body is,
 and in sleep you are all astray.
 Likewise in prayer your mind
 wanders like the waves of the sea.
 Do not talk nonsense, or you will go astray;
 offer praise recollected in silence!'
6. Love again gave me counsel,
 to knock at the door of the King:
 'Look (it said) at that boldness
 which made nothing of darkness on the way,
 gave strength to those asleep on their [death] bed,
 opened doors that were locked
 and gained an abundance of food, as Scripture tells us!
 Moses went so far in boldness
 as to [ask to] look on God's glory;
 [God] rebuked him, yet he did not shrink back
 till he looked and became resplendent.
 Blessed be He who gave men boldness
 as a trusty weapon!'
7. I looked again to my Reason
 and was scared like a schoolboy,
 as it scolded and lectured me
 by the example of such as Daniel
 who, when he saw one of the Watchers,

went out of his mind and his wits,
 turned pale and lost all heart, as Scripture tells us.
 His voice and his strength gave way,
 his tongue and his speech fell silent.
 'School your weak nature, my son,
 and be not too bold with [God's] majesty!
 Blessed be He who has granted me
 with two keys to draw near in two ways!

8. But again Love's teaching took me captive
 and made me its pupil in speech;
 it told me to open my ears
 and let its words be sown in my mind:
 'Contemplate and imitate that blind man
 who cried out in the way.
 The crowd of people rebuked him to make him be quiet,
 but he cried out all the louder
 and his boldness pleased his Redeemer.
 [Christ] relit his lamps that were out,
 so that he saw all creatures.
 Happy he, who looked on the features
 of God become man!'

9. As these two powers,
 Reason and pure Love,
 pounded me with their waves,
 they threw me into a quandary.
 The one made itself stern towards me,
 the other showed itself gentle.
 One counselled me, 'Draw near to him!';
 the other pulled me up: 'Do not be bold or draw near!'
 So there I stood in the middle,
 unable either to go in or to get out,
 stuck fast between fear and love.
 Praise be to Him who by his [scales]
 gives victory to which side he chooses!

10. With this Love won a royal victory:
 'The first commandment — the one
 which is the greatest and most precious,
 the head and king of the commandments —
 is that man should love God

and hold his fellow man dear.
 Who is there who, once having loved,
 could ever be able to bear or survive
 not speaking of his beloved
 nor thinking of his darling,
 since Love impels to both!
 Blessed be he who has loved us and won our love,
 has spoken to us and listened to us!

11. But Reason challenged me again,
 questioning to bring [me] to silence,
 pressing me hard to make [me] quiet
 and probing deep to admonish [me]:
 'Interpet [all] creatures for me
 and explain to me all that is visible;
 when this sun sets, how does it come back?
 By what road does it return
 to the place from where it rises?
 And the moon's light — how does it fade away
 and how is it concentrated again?'
 — I am beaten, Lord! I beg of you,
 O let me be silent and adore you!

12. In turn Love tugged at me again,
 muted, because I was so terrified
 and stood overwhelmed by fear,
 by the inundation of divinity:
 ['This collapse is] not to [punish you]
 [for presuming] to set limits
 [to the infinity of] the Godhead,
 but your treasure was scattered
 that you might trade with it and become rich,
 as a merchant takes to sea
 not merely to encompass its limits.
 Load up with his riches to your capacity
 and do not presume to restrict his treasure!'

13. Reason perceived this and pulled me up:
 'Do not pry into [God's] majesty!
 [It is] a depth never fathomed
 either by speaker or by hearer.

Their minds never grasped it,
 their interpretations never got its measure;
 their arguments have never described
 either its nature or its greatness.
 For nothing that is made or created
 is equal to investigating it.
 Offer him praise in silence
 according to your capacity, you weakling!

14. In turn Love upbraided me,
 appealing to David to stir me up.
 His heart was a fountain
 and his tongue like the pen of a scribe.
 The Spirit dictated to him
 and he wrote like a perfect pupil.
 Moses recorded creation
 as though he were its steward.
 The prophets proclaimed repentance,
 and the apostles the Resurrection.
 Not for them to be muzzled by silence — speakers were they!
 Blessed be he who gave mankind
 a speaking mouth, that we might thank him!

15. *[Two half-lines are lost. The argument of the stanza points to Reason as speaker, though it is questionable whether Reason should have two successive stanzas. What is lost might be something like:]*

[Now I was almost persuaded
 by Reason as it reminded me of]
 that Blessed one who was caught up
 and heard words unlawful
 to be spoken or heard
 by mouth or ear.
 To Daniel, too, one of the Watchers
 revealed words sealed in secrecy,
 in deepest silence,
 that the over-bold inquirer
 might be shamed by an eater of vegetables.
 Blessed be he who keeps boldness in check
 through silence, to stop us swaggèring!

16. Thus Reason rebuked me:
 'Consider, bold-face,
 the crown of a mortal king!
 Remind yourself, insolent,
 that every man stands in fear,
 bound in deepest silence.
 Before the crown of the King of kings,
 who dare play the wanton?
 Only an ignorant child
 or one fearless through foolhardiness
 (for neither of them knows discipline).
 Blessed be he who instructs the simple
 and has warned the over-bold with threats!'
17. All things have their measure; Love gave
 the rule for the measure of words,
 as Reason in its turn gave me
 the rule for the measure of silence.
 Like masters they imparted to me
 the pattern for silence and speech,
 that my mind might not drown in silence
 nor yet in speech make too bold,
 prying and presuming to explain
 the Sun's nature, seen and unseen,
 whose visible light we may love
 but whose hidden power we must fear.
 Blessed be he who through two masters
 made me a discerning learner!
18. Reason counselled me:
 'Look upon John [the Baptist],
 the glorious martyr and nazirite,
 prophet, priest and proclaimer,
 accuser yet merciful,
 avenger yet also forgiving.
 Though he cried 'I am not worthy to untie his sandals',
 in baptizing he was not too bold;
 for if he had not baptized,
 the servant under command
 would have been opposing his master who commanded.
 Happy was he in his discernment
 as without discord he fulfilled the command!'

19. How Love rained down its floods,
 calling to my mind the Son
 whose feet the sinner kissed
 and whose head was anointed by Mary!
 Iscariot turned to insolence
 and a servant struck him on the cheek.
 The scribes, priest and levites mocked him.
 If what was done in blasphemy
 was allowed to take place all unjustly,
 how much more is it just to give room
 for him who gives thanks in sincerity!
 Blessed are You, who finally grant
 the victor's crown to purest Love!

NOTES ON THE HYMN

References are to stanza and line of the translation. Since the broader context of Ephrem's teaching has already been sketched, fewer detailed notes are now required than in previous presentations of hymns of Ephrem. Other works of his are referred to as follows:

- H c Haer*: Hymns against the Heretics, Syriac in CSCO (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Louvain) 1969/Syr. 76. (Each volume in this series is followed by one of translation with notes; those cited here are all by the editor, Dom Edmund Beck, in German.)
- H Eccl*: Hymns on the Church, CSCO 198/Syr. 84.
- H Fid*: Hymns on Faith, CSCO 154/Syr. 73: E.T. by J.B. Morris, *Select Works of St Ephrem the Syrian* (Oxford 1847), from an inferior text but still useful.
- H Parad*: Hymns on Paradise, CSCO 174/Syr. 79; French tr. by R. Lavenant SJ in *Sources Chrétiennes* 137 (Paris 1968).

The present translation is evidently less 'poetic' than some other presentations of Ephrem's hymns in English. In fact, though the subject-matter is theologically profound and also appropriate for a lofty hymnic style, the semi-dramatic quality of the poem keeps the tone more homely, almost chatty, so that any attempt to keep the style of translation evenly exalted would be a mistake. Words in square brackets are added in English to ease the translation, or in two cases offer tentative reconstructions.

Notes in detail

- 1.5-6 Dom Beck found the Syriac text so difficult that he supposed some word had dropped out, but by taking two words differently (as 'baby' and 'those whom he knows') it seems possible to find a natural sense.
- 2.3-4 Cf. Abraham in Gen 18:27.
- 2.5 Cf. Mt 9:17.
- 3.1 'Reason' renders Syriac *mad'a*, the noun related to *yda*, 'know', yet 'knowledge' would not be quite right. Ephrem means the power of the mind which seeks to know and to think things out.
- 3.7 'Presumption': the Syriac word means rather weariness or laziness, but the context seems to require something more insolent.
- 4.3-13 On the disciple John as the Beloved Disciple in the Fourth Gospel. First he seems to be pictured in general as 'the Theologian', then refers to Jn 13:23-6.
- 4.9-11
- 5.2-9 Similar language is used in *H Parad* 8, 5-6 on the state of the soul separated from the body.
- 5.6 Cf. *H Eccl* 38,15.
- 5.9 Cf. *H c Haer* 29, *H Fid* 57, 6-7.
- 6.3-4 Seems to refer to blind people hurrying to Jesus, e.g. Mk 10:50.
- 6.5 May refer either to the raising of the dead, e.g. Jairus' daughter, or to the healing of e.g. Peter's mother in law, Mk 1:30-L.
- 6.6 An allusion to the deliverance of Peter in Acts 12?
- 6.7 Various allusions are possible, e.g. to Elijah and the Widow of Zarephath (1 Kgs 17:8-16), or perhaps to the Feeding of the Five Thousand.
- 6.8-11 Cf. Exod 33:18-23; 34:29.
- 7.4-9 Cf. Daniel 10:8. 'Watchers' ('ire): the word for angels both in the Aramaic parts of Daniel and in Syriac. While it seems to be understood as 'those who keep awake', the word might be connected with an older Semitic word applied to protecting spirits.
- 8.5-13 Here at least the allusion is clearly to blind Bartimaeus (Mk 10:46-52). The last lines of the stanza, while not forming an argument, hint that despite the impossibility and wrongness of trying to probe the Godhead, God has given us true and expressible knowledge of himself in Jesus.
- 9.12 [scales]: a probable meaning, but not quite clear.
- 10.2-6 Cf. Mt 22:36-40; Mk 12:28-31.

- 11.5-11 Seems modelled on God's questions to Job in Job 38.
- 12.5-7 The text is only partly legible in the MSS. My reconstruction is made in order to provide what seems the right kind of link between lines 4 and 8, while trying to incorporate what words seem clear. The thought would be that, by giving intense experience of himself, God does not want to destroy our minds but to encourage us to use all the more profitably the riches he pours into us: a strong argument on the 'cataphatic' side.
- 13 This stanza is full of Ephrem's regular anti-Arian language.
14. As stanza 11 imitates the style of Job, so this one is reminiscent of that of Sirach 44-9.
- 14.3-4 Cf. Ps. 45:2.
- 14.7-8 Presumes that Moses is the author of Gen 1-2. 'Steward': cf. Num 12:7 and Heb 3:5.
- 15 The gap at the beginning in the MSS makes the sequence of stanzas slightly uncertain, since the strict alternation seems to change here.
- 15.3-6 Paul in 2 Cor 12:3-4.
- 15:7-9 Cf. Dan 12:9.
- 15:11 Cf. Dan 1:8-16.
- 17:10 The Sun here seems to be regarded both as a natural 'mystery' in itself and as a symbol for the divine Son (the pun is, of course, an accident of English, not present in Syriac or other languages).
- 18:3 Nazirite: the 'order' described in Num 6 involved vows of abstinence, to which Samson (Jg 13:5) and John the Baptist were consecrated (Lk 1:15). The idea remained important among the early Judaeo-Christian ascetics: in the Syriac *Acts of Thomas* (48) the term is applied to Jesus, and one term for the ascetical life was *naziruta*, 'nazirite'.
- 19.3 Cf. Lk 7:38.
- 19:4 Cf. Jn 12:3.
- 19.6 Cf. Jn 18:22.

Tradition and Translation

NIGEL GOTTERI

[...] we are working much at the English Office for ourselves, and we are now going completely, except for singing and Liturgy, into English; with Greek and Slavonic in the background, like the eternity-beat.

Mother Maria Gysi¹

The task before the English translator of Orthodox liturgical texts is at once similar and dissimilar to the task facing the modern translator of the Bible. Both are working on texts which carry an authority of their own, texts which represent a vital part of a tradition, texts which must be translated with the utmost care and reverence. Both are acutely aware of the enormous difficulty, but also the necessity, of the work they are doing. However, the Bible translator knows that his work is going to be judged by readers who are familiar with at least one earlier and already prestigious translation. Even now it is not unusual to hear comparisons between modern translations and 'the original' from people who know none of the biblical languages and are clearly referring to a longer-established version such as the King James Version. The biblical translator knows also that all or most of his readers will not rely solely on his translation, a fact which can make the burden of translating an important text more bearable.

By contrast, the translator of liturgical texts may be producing a translation for use in situations where another language such as Church Slavonic or Greek has been used hitherto. Though other translations may be available, they do not hold a position analogous to that of the King James Version or the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. The other translations may be quite unknown within the community for which the translator is working; or perhaps different translations will be familiar to different members of the community and will have been regarded as glosses or cribs rather than as liturgical texts in their own right. The Orthodox translator is breaking new ground within a tradition; the contradictory requirements that an icon-painter should be neither an innovator nor an imitator are relevant to the translator too. However vigorously and cogently its maker is prepared to defend it, a wildly innovative version will not find acceptance in the community and his work will be wasted; equally, a translation that allows the texts concerned to remain in a prison of exquisitely beautiful obscurity will have been made in vain.

1. Sister Thekla (ed.), *Mother Maria. Her Life in Letters* (London 1979), p.37.

My purpose here is to plead for more understanding for the translator, and later to suggest an area in which translators could easily do more to assist themselves, each other and the users of their work.

The familiar text

Texts which are widely known and widely used present special problems. Ironically, despite the great familiarity of the texts concerned and though the translator is often criticized for departing from the version everybody is used to, there is *no* version to which everybody is used.

When John Riley and I were preparing a small prayerbook for children,² an early draft circulated to various English-speaking Orthodox included the petition 'but deliver us from evil' in the Lord's Prayer. One priest wrote back pointing out that English Orthodox are used to the petition 'but deliver us from the Evil One', and that we should therefore use it. The second draft did so, only to bring the following comment in a letter from another priest:

Why add 'one' to 'evil' at the end of the Lord's prayer? I know it is often done, but it does not come naturally to English people [...]. I never know why or how it has crept in, as the power of evil as a negative goodness or as a force does exist alongside its impersonation in the name of Satan or the devil.

With conflicting advice from two representatives of tradition, two priests whose parishes use English alongside other languages, we clearly had to decide for ourselves. We had already chosen what we believed to be the most common versions of the other petitions among Christian communities in England ('who art' rather than 'which art', 'on earth' rather than 'in earth', 'those who trespass' rather than 'them that trespass'). But we knew that many English Orthodox were already accustomed to the formulation 'deliver us from the Evil One', so we were prepared to consider adopting it.

What does a translator do in such a situation? He would not be prepared to make an arbitrary decision by tossing a coin. He could look more closely at the existing English-language Orthodox tradition in the hope of finding a majority of translators in favour of one version or the other. In this particular case, it would not matter if some of the translators were not native speakers of English. Unfortunately, there is no clear majority in favour of either version, though it might appear that translators working principally from Greek normally prefer 'evil' (thus, for example, Raya and de Vinck, Sr Thekla, Papadeas),³ while translators working principally from Slavonic normally prefer 'the evil one' (thus, for example, Hapgood).⁴ Should the

2. *Morning and Evening Prayers for Children* (reprinted by OASIS, Sheffield, 1979).
3. Archbishop Joseph Raya and Baron José de Vinck, *Byzantine Daily Worship* (Allendale, New Jersey 1969); Sister Thekla, *Prayers of the Day. The Services of the Hours* (Whitby 1977) and *The Service of Vespers. Introduction and Translation for Reference* (Whitby 1976); George L. Papadeas (compiler), *Greek Orthodox Holy Week and Easter Services* (Daytona Beach, Florida 1977).
4. Isabel F. Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church* (Englewood, New Jersey 1975).

Greeks be followed, as workers from the primary text? This conclusion is too facile, since it fails to allow for the possibility that the translators concerned have opted to follow existing versions. There are plenty of examples of translators doing so; though Hapgood and the Faith Press translator of the Divine Liturgy⁵ have been careful not to include the *Filioque* in the Nicene Creed, they clearly follow Western versions in other respects, such as suggesting that Our Lord was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary (cf. the Latin 'incarnatus est de Spiritu Sanctu ex Maria Virgine'), whereas the Greek and Slavonic wording is simply 'became incarnate [embodied] by [ek/ot] the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin'. Given this same tendency to opt for familiar versions where possible, it is all the more striking that Hapgood, for one, should choose to depart from the usual 'evil' in the Lord's Prayer. Did an Orthodox divine perhaps tell Miss Hapgood that she should amend her version and include 'the Evil One'? If so, it was clearly both important and beyond doubt as far as he was concerned.

A theory worth investigating is that the subsequent semantic development of the words concerned in Greek and Church Slavonic has influenced the understanding of the petition in the two communities. The Greek is *apo tou ponirou*, the Slavonic *ot lukavago*.⁶ *Lukavyi* in modern Russian means 'sly, cunning'. This could well account for the way in which the Russian Orthodox understand the phrase concerned. But this conclusion is rather undermined by the fact that modern Greek *poniros* means 'cunning, sly, wicked' and is therefore equally open to a personalised interpretation. Perhaps the Church Slavonic *lukav* — also meant 'cunning, sly', reflecting precisely that interpretation of the Greek by those who translated into Slavonic. *Lukav* — in early Church Slavonic texts⁷ does indeed mean 'evil, wicked, malicious, deceitful', and the devil is referred to as *lukavyi*. Thus it begins to seem more than likely that 'the Evil One' is the translation best supported by tradition and that the translators who have opted for 'evil' have done so simply in order to avoid what is felt to be unnatural for speakers of English.

This is not conclusive, however. Still unwilling to toss a coin, and possibly suspecting somewhere in the back of his mind that 'the Evil One' is little more than an eccentric verbal trademark of Anglo-Russian Orthodoxy, the translator may turn for guidance to commentators from Western traditions. The Lord's Prayer is a biblical text and common to all Christendom. Three Evangelical writers will serve to illustrate that the question is an open one in their tradition as well, despite the fact that all three of them must have grown up with the familiar, unambiguous English 'deliver us from evil'.

5. *The Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom. The Greek Text with a rendering in English* (Leighton Buzzard, n.d.), p.35; Hapgood, op.cit., p.100.
6. Greek and Church Slavonic are quoted here in slightly modernized and simplified transliteration.
7. *ot lukavago* is found in modern Church Slavonic; some early Church Slavonic manuscripts of Matthew 6 do not use the word *lukav* at all in this context.

According to Dr Coggan, 'the original [*apo tou ponirou*] does not make it clear whether the adjective is neuter ("what is evil") or whether it is masculine ("the evil one"), Satan, evil "personified". His conclusion is very much that of a commentator and makes no decision on behalf of the translator since 'we cannot tell which was in the mind of our Lord – or whether, perhaps, both ideas were'.⁸ That is the scholarly answer. What of the preacher's answer? Martyn Lloyd-Jones is quite unequivocal:

Some would say 'from the evil one', but I think that limits the meaning, for 'evil' here includes not only Satan but evil in every shape and form. It certainly includes Satan; we need to be delivered from him and his wiles. But there is evil also in our hearts, so we need to be delivered from that, and from the evil in the world as well. We need to be delivered from it all.⁹

John Stott, by contrast, feels that the context as a whole favours 'the Evil One':

So what is the sense of praying that [God] will not do what he has promised never to do? Some answer this question by interpreting 'tempting' as 'testing', explaining that though God never entices us to sin he does test our faith and character. This is not possible. A better explanation seems to be that 'lead us not' must be understood in the light of its counterpart 'but deliver us' and that evil should be rendered 'evil one' (as in Matthew 13:19). In other words, it is the devil who is in view, who tempts God's people to sin, and from whom we need to be 'rescued' (*rusai*).¹⁰

Stott's view is attractive and provides welcome support for the wording we finally used in the small prayerbook, a decision we felt was strongly suggested but never imposed or dictated by tradition.

The difficulties facing the conscientious liturgical translator of these two or three words of a Slavonic or Greek prayer are not at all unusual. The Lord's Prayer alone is full of phrases which raise difficult questions of exegesis and, in turn, doubts as to the borderlines between translation, paraphrase, interpretation and commentary.

The text from a different culture

The Lenten Prayer of St Ephrem the Syrian is one which Orthodox value greatly both as a prayer in its own right and as one which accompanies them on their annual journey through the weeks of Lent. It is a very un-English prayer and thus presents translators with peculiar problems. In Nassar's version it reads:

O Lord and Master of my life, deliver me from the spirit of indolence, meddling, ambition and vain talk.
But bestow thou upon me thy servant the spirit of chastity, meekness of mind, patience, and love.

8. Donald Coggan, *The Prayers of the New Testament* (London 1967), p.37.
9. D. Martyn Lloyd-Jones, *Studies in the Sermon on the Mount* (London 1960), vol. 2, pp. 76-7.
10. John R.W. Stott, *Christian Counter-Culture. The Message of the Sermon on the Mount* (Leicester 1978), p.150.

Yea, King and God, grant that I may know my sins and my faults, and not judge my brother;
for thou art blessed for ever. Amen.¹¹

Nassar's translation has removed some of the un-English features from the wording. Isabel Hapgood, Sr Thekla, and Fr Kallistos Ware with Mother Mary all offer slightly more literal translations of the imperative in the first petition, mindful of the fact that Greek and Slavonic both have 'do not give me . . .'. The English reaction to this is reminiscent of the problems of exegesis which our literal-mindedness has created for itself over 'lead us not into temptation'. If a translator were to translate 'lead us out of temptation' or 'keep us clear of temptation' in the Lord's Prayer, he would be accused, with some justification, of taking liberties with the text. In this equally Eastern but less universally familiar prayer, on the other hand, some translators (Nassar, Schmemmann,¹² Gotteri and Riley) have seen fit to turn the wording into something more English and direct.

Rather than offer a detailed commentary on this prayer, it might be appropriate to quote some extracts from the correspondence that passed between John Riley and myself while we were thinking about the prayer in February 1977.

NG to JR

[...] For Great Lent: the prayer of St Ephrem the Syrian (how shall we spell his name?).

Lord and Master of my life, take from me the spirit of sloth, inquisitiveness (thus Greek; Slavonic says 'faintheartedness'), ambition (lust for power?) and idle talk.

But give your servant the spirit of purity/sobriety (but not just chastity), humility, patience and love.

O Lord and King, make me see my own faults instead of passing judgement on/condemning my brother ('s).

For you are blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

JR to NG

[...] I find it very hard. The following is not *supposed* to be outrageous, but merely to help identify some of the difficulties I have and to aid communal musing.

Lord and Master of my life, help me not to be lazy and faint-hearted. Do not let me think too much about becoming important; do not let me talk for the sake of talking.

But make me, your servant, pure, humble, patient and loving.

O Lord and King, help me to see my own faults and guard me from judging other people . . .

Am I wrong, in thinking that St Ephrem's terms are intensely difficult to convey fully/precisely to someone under say 15?

11. Seraphim Nassar, *Divine Prayers and Services of the Catholic Orthodox Church of Christ* (New York 1961), p.645.
12. Alexander Schmemmann, *Great Lent* (New York 1974), p.34. The author does not say whose translation he quotes; it may be his own.

NG to JR

There is nothing outrageous about your St Ephrem prayer [...].

Help me to stop being lazy and half-hearted [...].

Unynie and *periergeia* are vastly different – despair: curiosity. Perhaps *half-heartedness* alludes usefully to both faintheartedness and to idle curiosity (knowledge without commitment). It would be nice to contrast it with *tselomudrie/sofrosyne* as *whol mindedness* (prudence, moderation, discretion, self-control, sobriety, chastity, decent behaviour etc.), but that is too much to hope for. The trouble is, it needs to be crisp [...].

Several versions followed in quick succession as at this stage letters were answered almost by return of post. The version that finally evolved was:

Lord and Master of my life, help me to stop being lazy, half-hearted, self-important and over-talkative.

But help me rather to serve you, to be pure, humble, patient and loving.

O Lord and King, make me see my own faults and not judge other people.

For you are blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

It is the most adventurous of the translations in our book, but the adventurousness was justified in at least two ways. Firstly, we were translating for the children, aged seven to seventeen, of a parish which worshipped in Church Slavonic, not English. Secondly, plenty of other versions of the prayer are available, and one of those would be used if the parish were to go over to English later. The difficulty here was not in bowing to local tradition in the type of translation we adopted, but in attempting to translate adequately a very un-English text which occupies an important place in an Orthodox liturgical book. A literal translation would run the risk of sounding quaint or irrelevant; an over-free translation would turn it into another prayer entirely.

An unidentified text: a case from practice

The rubrics for the Liturgy of the first Sunday in Lent in Fr Seraphim Nassar's version contain the following instruction: 'then the *Kontakion*, Verily, I am thy servant etc.'. The same kontakion is specified for other Sundays in Lent and occurs in the Order of the Prayer of the Laudations of the Theotokos. Fr Seraphim gives no page reference, which suggests that he would expect the user of the book to know this kontakion well. Yet nowhere in the 1123 pages of *Divine Prayers and Services* is there to be found a kontakion 'Verily, I am thy servant'.

The book is not new; it first appeared in 1938. Nonetheless, it is still useful to the English-speaking Orthodox since it contains far more seasonal material than Hapgood's *Service Book*. However it lets the user down entirely in the case of this inadequately identified kontakion. Unable to identify the kontakion quickly, but unwilling to accept defeat by simply omitting it, I embarked on a search for the text. The search led me backwards and forwards among eight liturgical books, including two in Greek, a Slavonic *Horologion* and a Greek-English parallel text of the Akathist Hymn. In the course of a long and tedious piece of detective work it

transpired that the text in question is often called the *Kontakion* of the Annunciation and begins with the familiar words *Vzbrannoi voevode* in Slavonic.

Since the kontakion occurs among the evening prayers, and was among those selected for the children's prayer book by Fr Arseni Korzeniowski, it follows that John Riley and I must have translated it. We had, as follows:

To you, Mother of God, victorious leader of triumphant hosts, we your servants, who had been delivered from evil, sing our grateful thanks. By your unconquerable power set us free from all disasters, so that we may cry aloud to you: 'Hail, O bride unwedded'.

It could now be seen that Nassar himself had provided a version of *Ti ypermakho* or *Vzbrannoi voevode* among the texts for the Feast of the Annunciation on 25 March. However it does not begin 'Verily, I am thy servant'. Instead, its first words are 'Verily, I, thy city, O Theotokos, inscribe to thee the banners of conquest'.¹³ Hence the confusion.

If the user of Nassar's book has led him to this discovery by the kind of circuitous and laborious route outlined here, he will feel that he has been put to a lot of unnecessary inconvenience. The inordinate difficulty of identifying a text like this, even when the enquirer has translated the very same text himself, and the absurdity of having to resort to Greek and Slavonic sources in order to decipher a rubric in an English book which aims to provide the English-speaking Orthodox Christian with all that he needs is more than enough to prompt thoughts about the difficulties of translation, the adequacy of translations for their intended use, and all the related problems.

The difficult text

A good translation often shields the reader from the complexity, obscurity or ambiguity of the original. Some theoreticians would argue that a good translation should be complex, obscure or ambiguous in as close a way as possible to the original. But the user of a liturgical translation is unlikely to agree. Comparison of a number of different versions of the same text, such as the kontakion that posed the problems of identification just described, may well suggest strongly that the text offers difficulties that are not reflected in any one translation examined alone. The *Kontakion* of the Annunciation is a very good example of precisely that. The sentence structure is quite involved, the vocabulary of the Greek and Slavonic stretches the lexicographical resources available to the translator and leaves several complexities and ambiguities unresolved; and all these are problems which need to be resolved prior to the task of producing an English text which will read well. It is hardly surprising that translators have produced widely differing texts which are easily mistaken for translations from different originals.

13. Nassar, op.cit., p.524.

Nassar's version has the speaker calling himself the 'city' of the Mother of God; Gotteri and Riley have the speakers calling themselves her 'servants'. On one level, this discrepancy is easily explained. The Greek text is in the first person singular and uses the word *i polis sou* ('thy city'), whereas the Slavonic text is in the first person plural and uses the word *raby tvoi* ('thy servants'). On the other level, another question arises: why is there a discrepancy between the Greek and the Slavonic?

It appears that *polis* 'walled town' was used not only of the town, as a spot on the map, but also, more or less metaphorically, of the inhabitants of a town, or of someone's place of permanent residence, his home. There is an interesting discussion of the origins of the text in the introduction to the Lenten Triodion,¹⁴ which tells us that this prayer began life as a thanksgiving for a particular event in the history of Constantinople. On internal evidence alone, the wording of the Greek suggests either that the city itself is personified and is addressing the Mother of God, using the first person, or that men are addressing the Mother of God and using the city as an image of themselves collectively as servants of the Mother of God. The Slavonic translators of the hymn must have opted for the latter interpretation, either as the more likely meaning of the Greek text or as the interpretation which suited their purposes best. Once they had adopted the 'servants' understanding of *polis*, they were free to re-write the prayer in the first person plural.

This brief discussion of one small detail of the prayer is sufficient to explain why versions differ amongst themselves. A translator, often less dogmatic than his critics, may well change his mind several times in the course of his work. This appears to be what has happened to Nassar. I have no evidence before me of how he set about producing his *Divine Prayers and Services*, but it is likely that the words 'Verily I am thy servant' reflect an earlier version of the hymn, which he subsequently found unsatisfactory and therefore re-worked. If this is indeed what happened, it is simply unfortunate that he overlooked the references to the hymn elsewhere in the book; doubly unfortunate that the hymn in question is so well-known (as it transpires) that he had not given a page-reference for it in the rubrics.

Of course, it would be only too easy to accuse Fr Seraphim of carelessness. But it would be grossly unfair. Producing the book was an enormous undertaking, and one can only be grateful that it appeared in print at all. Too much concern over the possibility of the occasional minor error might well have caused a severe delay to the publication of a much-needed volume.

Two pleas for understanding

The few examples discussed above illustrate the kind of problems the translator of Orthodox liturgical texts constantly faces in his work, and one of them affords an insight into the kind of problem which occasionally arises for the user of a translation. My first plea for understanding concerns the latter.

14. *The Lenten Triodion*, tr. Mother Mary and Archimandrite Kallistos Ware (London and Boston 1978), p.55.

It would be of great assistance to the users of translated liturgical books if texts that are cross-referenced could be *doubly* cross-referenced whenever possible. I am not suggesting that books designed primarily for liturgical or devotional use should be weighed down with an elaborate scholarly apparatus. But I am suggesting, for example, that where the rubric for a Lenten service prescribes *Ti ypermakho*, a sub-title like 'The Kontakion of the Annunciation' could be very helpful to anyone who is already familiar with a different version of the same text. This small consideration could also help the translator by reminding him, when the process of re-working begins, that the text in question occurs in several different contexts. The traditional practice is to refer to texts by their opening words. As the opening words are likely to differ significantly from translation to translation, the addition of a small unofficial editorial sub-title could thus spare the user a great deal of inconvenience.

My second, much more important, plea is to the users and critics of translations. The Orthodox liturgical translator is not a *reviser*; this point is made very strongly in the introduction to the *Festal Menaion*.¹⁵ It is my experience in England that Orthodox worshippers tend to react rather unfavourably to new or unfamiliar translations. Often, as they read or sing, they may be seen shaking their heads as if to say that the translation is 'wrong' or 'won't do'. It almost seems as if the translator, with malice aforethought, had deliberately falsified a part of Holy Tradition.

A person who is familiar with a text containing the word 'defilement', for example, may be dismayed to find the word 'corruption' in its place in another version. Little does he realise that the Slavonic *istlenie* is open to either translation or that is perhaps best served by the continued co-existence of both.

Hence my plea to the consumer: bear in mind that (i) the translator is carrying out difficult work on texts which he takes as seriously as you do: refrain from criticism until and unless you know and understand the original at least as well as he; and that (ii) texts central to tradition deserve and even demand a variety of translations.

Tradition is many-sided, colourful and interesting, like holiness itself; like sin, the monolithic and definitive are sterile and dull.

15. *The Festal Menaion*, tr. Mother Mary and Archimandrite Kallistos Ware (London 1969), p.11.

A philosopher and his faith: the work of H. A. Hodges

ANNE BORROWDALE and ANN LOADES

Herbert Arthur Hodges, born 1905, was professor of philosophy at the University of Reading 1934-69. He was educated at the King Edward School in Sheffield, and in 1923 he went on to Balliol to read 'Mods and Greats'. Following a lectureship at New College in 1927, he moved to Reading as a lecturer in philosophy in 1928, and lived near Reading until his death in 1976. His outstanding theological work, *The Pattern of Atonement*, appeared midway through his career (1955), though its themes were important concerns prior to the Lincoln Schola Cancellarii lectures in 1953 of which the book is a record.

It is an extraordinary achievement for a professional philosopher. To read it sensitively, we need to take note of what Hodges himself tells us about some of his aims and motives in relation to his public life. In this connexion, we note a comment drawn from his work on Dilthey: 'What a philosopher thinks depends upon the temperament he inherits, the cultural and social influences under which he is brought, and the historical conditions under which he lives' (*SWD*, v, p.32).¹

Hodges' development

Hodges was brought up in the United Methodist Church, though by his own account, the faith he had when he went up to Oxford bore little resemblance to that Church's teaching, and as an undergraduate he counted himself among the agnostics. As a result of what he referred to as his 'conversion to Catholicism' he became an Anglican in 1928, a significant year for him professionally as we have already noted. Anglicanism at this time represented for him 'the fullness of the sacramental life, and the Catholic tradition of spiritual teaching and discipline', the opportunity to 'explore the fullness of the Catholic Faith in a community which has a real sense of continuity and fellowship with the undivided Church'. Most importantly, he added that to be an Anglican was 'to identify oneself with a life which will be one long fight for clarity and integrity of mind' (*TBA*, pp.60, 70). His later discovery of Orthodoxy delighted him not least because for him Orthodoxy seemed to have an even fuller understanding of Christian faith and life, as well as

1. References are given in the text by means of initials: these are explained in the bibliographical note at the end of the article. A complete bibliography of Hodges' work is provided in the unpublished thesis by Anne Borrowdale (née Beacock), 'H.A. Hodges: *The Pattern of Atonement* in its context', University of Durham, 1978. To this must now be added Hodges' recently published Gifford lectures, *God Beyond Knowledge* (London 1979).

because of its insistence 'on the unity of what among us in the West have tended to become separate: theological learning and the spiritual life' (*MAO*, p.40).

It was rare for someone in Britain to take a close interest in Dilthey, despite his importance in the transmission of post-Kantian philosophy. But we can immediately appreciate the attractiveness of Dilthey's philosophy for Hodges, when we read his comment to the effect that Dilthey wanted to explore the whole range of 'the human studies', which 'draw upon inner experience, which [are] intrinsically and on the face of it much fuller of meaning than the phenomena of sense' (*SWD*, i, p.35). In one of Hodges' addresses to the conference of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius there is a remarkable passage which we think must in effect be autobiographical: the story he told is not the kind of story which depends upon inference about someone else's life, but seems rather to be a reliable account of his own development. Hodges recounted 'the story of one young man whom I used to know pretty well thirty to forty years ago':

He has been brought up in a Protestant environment, surrounded by the preaching of sin and the Atonement; but he grew up without any sense of sin, or of standing in any personal relation to God. It seemed to him in his early years that the approach to religion through the conception of sin, and of the Angry Judge, and of the Kind Father, was all too human and all too sentimental. He was indeed conscious of a problem, he was even tormented by a problem of an essentially religious character, but it was not the problem of sin; it was the problem of transience, of finitude, of meaninglessness. In a world of change and relativity was there anything that was abidingly real or true?

However, as Hodges continued:

If he had no sense either of the Angry Judge or of the Kind Father, he had a deep sense of what I may call the Great Invisible: and when, at a certain stage, Christianity dawned upon him, it came through a sudden understanding of Christ, not as Saviour from sin, but as the Incarnation of the Great Invisible. With Christ he also saw the Church as the Body of Christ, fed by the Sacraments as channels of the Invisible Life; and into the Church he was received. It was not until several years later that he underwent an experience involving conscious guilt and reconciliation, of a kind which any Methodist would recognize as an evangelical conversion. This was not at the beginning of his spiritual course, as the traditional evangelical teaching would lead one to expect; it only came when he was well launched upon it (*HRP*, p.238).

The phraseology of this account is typical of the way in which Hodges approached his understanding of Christianity. For instance, in an unpublished typescript,² which he finished shortly before his death, Hodges passed on from his 'sense of the Great Invisible' to his understanding of Christ as 'the Incarnation of the Great Invisible', for he wrote also of a Christ vision, an intuitive realisation of the truth which comes before the intellectual formulation of it:

2. In the possession of Mrs Vera Hodges, and lent by her to Anne Beacock, with the provisional title of 'Thoughts of a sceptical believer'. Mrs Hodges was of the greatest help during the course of a preliminary work on Hodges undertaken by Anne Beacock.

I suppose one may grow quietly into it, as one may grow into the God-vision. But certainly it may also come as a flash of light, dazzling the mind for a time before settling down into a steady illumination. And it may show Christ in a variety of aspects to different people [...]. But one feature I believe is always present: in one way or another Christ is always seen as God entering into the temporal world and winning a victory there (T, p.29).

Hodges used to recommend F.P. Harton's *The Elements of the Spiritual Life* as a work which contained all that it was necessary to know about being a Christian, and it was at the point of change from the purgative way (which included the discipline of thinking through the meaning of the Christian faith) to the illuminative way, en route to the unitive way, that Hodges located the conversion experience so eloquently recorded in Wesleyan writing. What Wesley had to say about conversion was his greatest single achievement as a writer. 'Taken in its context it is not merely a true understanding of Reformation teaching [...] but an integration of it with Catholic tradition, where it fills an unrecognized gap' (NP, p.110). This is the claim reaffirmed in chapter four of *The Pattern of Atonement* which elaborates on the 'particular type of spiritual case-history, whose central feature is the initial state of anxiety, followed by a sudden and decisive release' (P, p.80), which is so characteristic of post-reformation Protestant experience. Hodges therefore pleaded for the proper integration of 'this volcanic experience' into the traditional account of the pattern of spiritual life, for such integration would not only be a gain to all concerned, but would 'complete the process of clearing up the present confusion of teaching with regard to justification' (P, p.82).

Faith and Philosophy

Hodges insisted on the importance of an understanding of spirituality as central for Christian community, and it is almost impossible in writing about Hodges to separate out his writing on theology and spirituality from his self-understanding as a philosopher. 'Critical intelligence is the broadening of the mind, the clarification of thought, the road to the vision of God' (CO, p.143): 'in seeking to know myself I am unconsciously seeking the face of God, and Socrates is a true *praeparatio evangelica*. This, for a Christian, is the philosopher's charter' (LN, p.63). Given man's alienation from his true condition, there can be 'no surprise at the endless diversity of attitudes and standpoints which men in fact take up. This confusion, and the mutual unintelligibility and indifference which prevail so widely between types of people, are what we should expect in a world which has fallen as Christianity says it is' (LSA, p.67).

Hodges attempted to take particularly seriously those expressions of Christian faith which at first sight seemed most repugnant to him. Philosophically, he put it in terms of analysis of standpoints. He meant by 'standpoint' a set of presuppositions, together with the type of question to which it gives rise, and the way of looking at things that result, expressed in characteristic words and phrases (LSA, p.15f). So the analysis of a standpoint requires that openness to man as speaker on which

Hodges constantly insists (CO, p.141; MU, p.14). But whereas in philosophical analysis we can appeal only to 'the interaction of human minds upon human minds in circumstances of mutual respect and forbearance, Christianity is able to bring in a decisive new factor in the enlightening action of God' (LSA, p.68). Furthermore, Hodges shocked 'professional conceit' (SWD, v, pp.34-5) by endeavouring to disabuse people of their pretensions to pure rationality and impartial wisdom. For him the true form of philosophical argument was, 'this must be true if the questions in which I am interested are to be capable of the kind of answer I hope for'. In other words, he drew attention to the connections between arguments, feelings and desires, and the way in which deep self-analysis uncovers fundamental attitudes to life and the world. 'The philosopher will be the man who *chooses* to be himself, and goes about it with all the consistency of which he is capable' (SWD, v, p.36).

An analogy which Hodges employed for his own self-understanding was taken from the work of the artist. He particularly commended the artist's 'persistent drive towards clear apprehension and vivid realisation of things' (AR, p.133). He went so far as to take the imagery of 'opening blind eyes', one of the 'works of Messiah' to apply to the artist, and subsequently to himself. The artist has a potential place in the work of redemption, whether he knows it or not, and this 'just by virtue of being an artist at all':

He redeems our sensuous nature by opening our eyes and ears to the glory of colour and sound. He chastens and purges our imagination by forcing us to look honestly at the world around us, to see human character, human actions and relationships, as they are (AR, p.135).

Once again, Dilthey was most helpful here. Dilthey had seen how the artist, including great literary artists and historians, had clear and deep insights matched by adequate powers of expression (SWD, ii, p.86). The artist had an 'eye for types' (SWD, ii, p.82), the intellectual, practical, intuitive types of outlook (SWD, v, p.31). The artist 'can see and portray things and people in such a way that their essential structure stands out clearly' (SWD, ii, p.83). That structure is to be discerned as 'given in lived experience', with the mind working 'unreflectively but unremittingly for the full and harmonious development of all its powers' (SWD, ii, p.84). The difference between art and religion is that whereas art tries to interpret life in terms of itself, religion 'points beyond experience, and finds the meaning of life in man's relation to God' (SWD, iv, p.222). Of himself, then, Hodges affirmed: 'I see myself as an opener of blind eyes, or at least as one committed by his profession to opening blind eyes; that is my share in the works of Messiah' (WI, p.8).

It is manifest that to him it was simply absurd for anyone to suppose that religious belief and professional life could be left uncoordinated (CMWV, p.12), though it must also be said that few could hope to live a professional life with a professional focus of interest so integrated with religious belief as Hodges was blessed and privileged to live. It was perhaps peculiarly appropriate that some years before the writing of his work on the Atonement Hodges should express himself as follows on the work of the Christian philosopher:

Philosophers have a peculiar share of the passion of Christ. It is theirs to see and endure not so much the broken body, the torn flesh of the world, but its twisted and distracted mind, and uniting its suffering and their own with the suffering of Christ, to pray prevailingly. Where this is done, the scholar or the student's work is transfigured, and its place in the never ending dialogue between God and man in Christ becomes clear (*MU*, p.24).

No Christian would be able to protect muddle and obscurity by the plea of piety and prayer when confronted with Hodges. For he wrote of his 'exhaustible delight in tracking down beliefs and principles to their roots, in getting your mind clear when it has been confused, in getting inside other people's minds and understanding how they come to see things so differently' (*WPP*, pp.573-4).

Fidelity to Christian tradition

Hodges grappled with the Christian tradition as he found it not only when dealing with the various interpretations of the doctrine of Atonement, but in such writings as 'Angels and human knowledge'. Angels are part and parcel of Christian tradition;³ and Hodges wrote as a Christian for Christians. He did not discuss whether there were angels, but simply assumed that they exist 'because they and their activities are part of the Faith' (*AHK*, pp.1-2).

This furnishes a clue to the way he tried to write about theology. Certainly, the part played by angelic powers in the Fall is a theme as important as the other which Hodges brought into play in *The Pattern of Atonement* (*P*, pp.20f, 37f). Hodges had no hesitation in making his position clear when he came to state the scope of this work:

I shall take for my subject the whole work of Christ as peace-maker and restorer; I shall try to describe that work as Scripture and experience present it to us; and when I analyse, it will be a philosopher's analysis, taking for its object ideas and standpoints rather than books and writers, and clarity for the sake of proportion (*P*, p.11).

One of the reasons for Hodges' confidence was not merely his faith, but his studies in the post-Kantian tradition represented by Dilthey to which we have drawn attention. Only occasionally did Hodges reveal how precarious he felt all his expositions of faith to be. For example, writing of the meaning of Christian faith he concluded:

When we have thus abandoned ourselves and our notions of life, and thrown the whole away as rubbish in the presence of God, and stood naked to receive whatever he gives for the sake of God who gives it, then we find to our surprise that, besides killing us, he also makes us alive, and that his generosity exceeds what we could ever have dreamed of. *But it remains generosity in a strange coin* (*CMWV*, p.56, our italics).

3. See G. Bonner, *The Warfare of Christ* (London 1962).

The core of his faith

The major feature of *The Pattern of Atonement* is Hodges' attempt to give an honest critique of 'substitution' theories of atonement, for some of which he evidently felt a deep distaste. After all,

In the history of Christian devotion, and still more in the history of soteriology, the idea of substitution has played an important part [...], it is so widespread and so persistent, and (may we add?) it awakens such echoes in the soul that it can hardly be without a core of vital truth, however hard it may be to formulate satisfactorily (*P*, p.46).

For Hodges, the interpretative clue, the core of vital truth, lies in the concept of salvation in 'mystical union' with Christ, a clue which runs throughout Hodges' whole exposition and critique:

Strictly speaking, Christ undergoes that which is in fact the penalty of sin; but He does not undergo it [...]. Christ underwent death, which is the penalty of sin, not in order that we might not die but in order that we might die aright. Our death without Him would be punishment and sheer destruction; with Him and in Him it is saving penance and redemptive sacrifice (*P*, pp.57-7).

Another example of Hodges' fidelity to scripture and tradition is his affirmation of Abraham as the pattern of faith (whether or not one can say that Abraham's life story in Genesis reinterpreted in Romans and Hebrews, is literal history) (*CMWV*, p.16). The point of the story of Abraham is 'that it gives us the standard by which our attitude to life is to be regulated', the attitude described as 'a complete self-commitment to God, a complete openness and responsiveness to God's guidance, a readiness to receive and become whatever God wills him to receive and become' (*P*, p.88-9). This model of faith is also integral to the concept of life in Christ:

Faith [...], by making me one with Christ, is both the grounds of God's merciful judgment which absolves me here and now, and the power behind my growth in actual righteousness which has so far only begun (*P*, pp.91-2).

It goes almost without saying that sacramental worship is of the highest priority for Hodges. Both Baptism and Eucharist receive interpretations in accordance with his dominant theme of life in Christ:

In Baptism we are initiated into the death and resurrection of Christ, that we may die to what we are of ourselves and rise to a new life in Him. In the Eucharist we plead His death in the symbols of the broken body and the shed blood, and are fed with the life of Him who was dead and is alive for evermore (*IS*, pp.52-3).

Just as in the Incarnation, the infinite and unknowable God revealed himself to men, so in the sacraments, we have the 'Unknowable made visible, nay eaten and drunk, under the sensible signs' (*T*, p.46). Hodges reiterates this point in a way which further illuminates the imagery of opening blind eyes, when writing of the public worship of the Church:

At its highest moment, in the Eucharist, it reaches the highest eloquence. That is because the Church is speaking a language of word and action which was taught her by the supreme Artist and Worshipper himself, a language which says all that there is to say, and more than the Church herself at any given moment understands (AR, p.147).

It is with the objective of incorporation into Christ that God has set up the Church, 'with teachings and practices deriving from himself, expressing in word and action the nature of the true life which God intends for us, and with supernatural powers to impart and sustain it' (CMWV, p.53).

Hodges provides us with an example of an informed and articulate member of the laity taking responsibility for faithfulness to his Christian inheritance. After Hodges' death, Metropolitan Anthony spoke of Hodges having shown us 'the greatness of the human mind when it is pure and used with a worshipful reverence for God's Truth'.⁴ Praise of this order is not lightly given, but it serves as an apt conclusion for our reflections.

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News and Comment

A VISIT TO THE COPTIC ORTHODOX CHURCH

This brief account is based entirely on conversations and encounters in Egypt during December 1978. In the circumstances some of our conclusions are offered in a tentative spirit. We were part of a group from Westcott House, Cambridge, and we visited Egypt at the invitation of the Coptic Archdeacon in Cairo, Fateen Moussa. During our stay we visited the monasteries in the Wadi-Natrun, spending several days at St Macarius. We also looked at the rural Coptic communities in the south around Luxor, as well as the urban congregations of Cairo. We spoke with a large number of people — bishops, priests, monastics and laity.

The Coptic revival

No one could stay among the Copts without being aware of a great consciousness of revival. From the time of Chalcedon (451) until the nineteenth century the Copts were an isolated, non-proselytising Christian community, subject to sporadic persecutions and also to the more enervating and constant disabilities of a dissenting minority within an aggressively self-confident Muslim culture. They survived through a rather pathetic pride in their identity as 'true Egyptians', through devotion to the Liturgy and to oral tradition, through the faith of an unebbing stream of holy men and an attitude of resignation. In the last century they encountered Western Christianity in the form of French Roman Catholicism and Anglo-Saxon Protestantism: its impact on them was not altogether positive, but neither was it profound. Thus the Coptic revival was delayed until well into the present century, during which it has been gathering momentum steadily.

Its manifestations are two-fold: firstly, the vast expansion of monasticism and recovery of the tradition of the desert fathers and secondly, the reorganisation and re-education of the Church at large. It is difficult to say what prompted these developments, but certainly they must be seen in the context of a parallel Islamic revival and the efforts of the Middle East to define itself *vis-à-vis* the West. In respect of the former there is probably some reciprocal influence, while in the case of the latter it is notable that there is perhaps more respect for Western 'modernity' among the Copts than among the Muslims. At the same time there is an insistence on their Christian purity and loyalty to the nation of Egypt. It must also be noted that the monastic revival was initially associated with the educated middle classes of Cairo: the monasteries of the Wadi-Natrun are full of doctors and engineers from the capital. Perhaps there is a certain reaction against urbanisation, a certain

measure of frustration in career prospects for educated Copts and also, at a time of increased leisure, a certain turning to religion as the main cultural vehicle for the recipients of a predominantly technical education. But to suggest this is certainly not to deny the genuinely spiritual character of the renewal.

Whatever the causes of revival, the facts are undeniable. There have been few conversions — the constraints on conversion from Islam are far too great — but the proportion of Copts in Egypt has held steady and their numbers have benefitted from the general population increase. In thirty years the number of monks in the Wadi-Natrun alone has increased from 60 to 260. In the same time two or three convents have opened in Cairo whose occupants devote themselves to social work. In Shubra, an area of the capital, 300 Sunday school teachers work in shifts from dawn to midnight in an attempt to meet the demand for knowledge. Many of the laity attend the theological evening classes in the seven seminaries (most of which are recent creations). Some 5000 people are present regularly at the Bible study and personal advice sessions given by the Alexandrian Patriarch himself every Friday night in his cathedral.

Parish life

Parish life is centered on the Liturgy in a manner which is difficult for Westerners to grasp. The distinctions drawn in the West between that which public and private, between contemplation and action are not so natural to the Copts. They would define themselves as a worshipping community, and every individual prayer and act remains in this context, taking its pattern from the gestures and attitudes of the congregation throughout the ages. Not only are there countless extra-liturgical practices which conform to a liturgical pattern, but even ethical behaviour is considered to be an imitation of certain ritual models. On the other hand, the Liturgy itself — while unchanging in its essentials — is fluid, adaptable and relaxed in performance, so that it merges readily with the rest of life and allows each service the character of a spontaneous renewal of commitment. This aspect is epitomised for the visitor by the continuous, mesmeric chanting, sometimes to the accompaniment of triangle and cymbal, which often has no pre-defined terminal point. However, to the uninitiated observer the Coptic rite (which often occupies upwards of three hours) has a monotonous, formless appearance, punctuated only at its climax by the dramatic entrance of the priest who holds aloft the consecrated host. This is greeted by what sounds like a gasp of awe from the congregation.

More careful observation of the proceedings reveals two major characteristics. Firstly, the eucharistic action has a strongly mimetic character; it is a 'drama of the host'. The bread is baked in a special cave-like oven attached to the church and known as 'Bethlehem'. On the altar the bread is placed initially in a crevice called the 'sepulchre', then on a stand which is known as the 'throne'. It would seem that for the Copts the Liturgy is first and foremost the drama of Christ's life re-enacted before their eyes in mysterious fashion. It is another measure of the strength of the revival that regular reception of the sacrament is now so widespread. Secondly,

there is minimal human initiative in the action. There appears to be no moment of offertory in the Coptic rite. If, as has been suggested, 'monophysite' theology was originally connected with a very 'high' view of the eucharist, it is significant that for the Copts the bread takes on sacramental significance already from the place of its production. What is important at every stage is that in this drama God makes himself fully manifest. A typical Coptic attitude seems to be that of confident expectation, an expectation uniquely fulfilled when the mystery behind the screen is revealed in all its glory.

Every Liturgy is set in a wider context: it involves an attempt to recover the sanctity conferred at Baptism and a renewed participation in the lives of the saints, especially of the early martyrs. The buried bones of the martyrs have an important role to play. They are the foundation of what is still to some extent a martyr Church, they provide a reminder of what it is to be a Christian.

In the light of this pristine emphasis on martyrdom it is significant that the 'white martyrdom' of the monastic way of life is shared in some degree by every Copt. Copts are appalled by the thought that there are Christians elsewhere who do not fast regularly and rigorously. They themselves observe periods of fasting which amount to about six months of the year. At these times they do not eat before 3 p.m. and thereafter abstain from meat, fish, eggs, milk and cheese; many laymen observe long vigils and make their way to monasteries to pray and to receive blessings.

The reformers of the modern Church have encouraged ancient practices: they have also nurtured a more conscious awareness of the biblical and patristic heritage. In this they have been helped by Sunday schools and other means. But the dissemination of new patterns of life has been achieved primarily through the creation of new bishoprics. These are small enough for the bishop to address in person substantial numbers of his flock in sessions which are miniature versions of those held by the Patriarch. The bishop is a familiar figure, but his role is rather different from that of the parish priest. He is a fount of spiritual and practical wisdom, a living symbol of the character and unity of his Church. To see Bishop Ammonius lean on his staff to receive the acclamations of his congregation at Luxor was to be reminded of Ignatius' description of the charismatic presence of the bishop in the early Church. All the bishops are celibate and are drawn from the monasteries.

One controversial move in recent years has been the consecration of three bishops without sees. These men are close to the Patriarch and are placed in charge of areas of general administration. One whom we met, Bishop Samuel, is responsible for the Church's social and ecumenical work. It is in the field of social work that the Copts have been most influenced by their contacts with other Churches, especially through the WCC. With the financial aid of this body they have set up four notable pastoral projects: (i) Community development centres have been established in the slums. These provide instruction in reading and in biblical studies, as well as training in handicrafts and hygiene. There are 24 of these in Cairo

and 25 in the provinces. (ii) Assistance is given to the refuse collectors of Cairo (who are all Copts since their work involves unavoidable proximity to the pigs who eat the rubbish). On the technical side, schemes have been put forward for the recycling of waste and for the replacement of donkey-drawn by motorised carts. There has also been an attempt to prevent exploitation by middle-men through the formation of co-operatives. (iii) An attempt has been made to provide for destitute Copts who are reduced to squatting in the Muslim necropolis. They receive material aid, and services are organised for them in makeshift churches. (iv) A 'caravan' project (run by students) carries films and books to remote villages with few cultural facilities. Our impression was that these untraditional ventures in philanthropy were quite smoothly integrated with the growing self-awareness and organisation of the Coptic community.

Monasticism

The tradition of the desert fathers never quite died out in the Coptic Church. But what helped to make possible the present monastic revival was modern Western scholarship. It was through reading modern historical works that Fr Matta El-Meskin (who was to revive monastic life at St Macarius) became aware of the ascetical and theological glories of Egypt's remote past and determined that they were relevant to the present.

The monastic revival is now manifest in two distinct movements. The first is the original one headed by Abba Matta, who was summoned from the desert south of the oasis of Fayum by the late Patriarch Kyrillos VI to renew life at St Macarius. The second, centered on Deir Anba Bishoi and Deir es Suryan, had been more directly encouraged by successive patriarchs and is closely linked to the renewal of the episcopate. But despite certain differences (which will be noted below) these two movements have much in common.

Most important is the fact that a genuinely idiorhythmic tradition has been preserved or retrieved. Many of the monks start, continue or finish as hermits. The central emphasis is on individual striving for perfection, and little importance is attached to corporate life. The number of monks present at the community offices is always proportionately small; most say the office is their cell. This seemed to be as true of St Macarius as of the rest, despite its otherwise more corporate features. Modern Coptic spirituality retains at least some of the emphasis of the patristic period. The monks have come to the desert to face reality, to confront demonic forces. They are 'wild men' (in the words of Abba Matta), spiritual heroes who perform feats of power.

But although the forces to be conquered lie within and personal salvation is the goal, the monk can hope to succeed only if he places himself within a tradition, ceaselessly appropriating the words of the Bible (several monks know the scriptures by heart) and paying heed to the shrewd and practical advice of the more experienced warriors. Extempore prayer, even in private, is unknown; prayer is the concentrated repetition of words already given. The monk who is saturated with

words of wisdom may hope to embody them in his life. Such embodiment would require integrity, the harmony of body and soul. As bodily desires become more attuned to those of the soul, bodily sufferings lose their capacity to distract. More emphasis than most westerners would find acceptable is placed on the ability of faith to overcome and even remove pain.

Besides this realisation of the 'power of the resurrection', there is an equally important emphasis on the displacement of law by love. This is most obviously exemplified in the life of the hermit monk who has passed beyond the need for externally fixed forms. There is an unashamed rejoicing in such freedom. At the same time the way of love is the way of rigour and of ceaseless growth. Although eventually there are no longer 'psalms or books', liberty must follow law, not preempt it. As Abba Matta has said (echoing St John Climacus), 'you will be rejected if you have the effrontery to leap to the top of the ladder of love'.

Inextricably bound up with the theme of love is that of *oikonomia*. Love insists on doing justice to the particularity of individuals. A spiritual father's most important gift is the capacity to discern the right path for those in his care. At St Macarius there are separate lockers for each monk: here will be placed the monk's daily allocation of food, regulated in accordance with his physical and spiritual condition. This is but one indication of the separate ways mapped out by Abba Matta. It is considered the mark of St Macarius that it is governed by love rather than by law, that it is infinitely adaptable to the concrete needs of those within its walls.

Further evidence of this extraordinary attitude is provided by the monastery's openness to novices. There is only one qualification for admission: the desire to come. There is only one disqualification for remaining: the desire to go. The absence of obstacles, tests and assessments is testimony to the monks' belief in the attractiveness of their way of life.

Mention was made of the two movements which for convenience may be designated 'Macarius' and 'Bishoi'. But in actual fact *all* monasteries other than St Macarius fall under the influence of Deir Anba Bishoi. Even in its externals St Macarius stands apart. Other monasteries will have their buildings in various stages of dishevelment or restoration. Macarius boasts modern, well-designed and hygienic buildings of stark white concrete around a beautiful garden. The whole is enclosed by high, windowless walls. From the distance it looks like the city of God suddenly appearing in the desert: from within it looks almost utopian.

The explanation of St Macarius' material glory (as also of its distinctness in respect of the Bishoi group) must be sought in the personal influence of Abba Matta-El-Meskin. The monks of Bishoi are under various spiritual directors: all the monks at St Macarius are under Abba Matta. From the first he has not only determined the paths of individual monks but co-ordinated their diverse talents to the maximum benefit of the community as a whole.

The life of such a community deserves to be safeguarded: Abba Matta shows a patristic aversion to the removal of monks to become bishops. By contrast, the

undergoing of spiritual training which is to fit the monk for service in the Church at large is taken for granted at Bishoi.

The Coptic mind

'Doctrine' is probably not the most helpful heading under which to consider the contemporary Coptic mind. 'Narrative' and 'miracle' would be more appropriate. The uses of narrative are many. Above all, it can serve to render the past as present, the past which is presented as a series of narratives about the Copts' ancestors.

This was illustrated for our party in dramatic fashion when we were guests at a feast prior to the eucharistic commemoration of the 144,000 martyrs of Esna. The celebration took place at a monastery near Esna, a town in the South. A farmer narrated to us the story of the massacre, which must have occurred during Diocletian's persecution. It included an incident in which three *fellahin* (farmers) met with a band of soldiers and offered their scythes for their own slaughter. To the narrator these were obviously men just like himself, and the incident had occurred only yesterday. The happiness and voluble excitement of the people at the feast conveyed the same impression. In recalling the massacre the community was rapturously asserting its identity, both Coptic and local. Appropriately, the Coptic calendar uses the Era of the Martyrs, whose beginning is closely associated with the Diocletianic persecutions.

Narrative can also help to restore links with a past once lost. The entrance of St Macarius was built on the north side. It was the appropriate position according to Jewish tradition: it was explained to us that it betokened hospitality. After its construction the gateway of the original St Macarius was discovered. It proved to be in exact alignment with the new one. It was excavated and preserved so that visitors could pass through the new gateway to the old. This story clearly served an important function in demonstrating continuity with the first monks of St Macarius and in suggesting its providential character. Similar importance was attached to the recent discovery of the relics of St John the Baptist at St Macarius.

Less reputable is the use of narrative as explanation. Increasingly aware of the overbearing claims of non-Coptic 'Christendom' (whether East or West), the Copts try to establish a place for themselves in the history of the wider world. In this connexion their narratives tend to become quasi-rational. For example, the resemblance of Coptic to Greek leads to the assertion that Coptic is the mother of all languages. Or it may be noted that certain Coptic designs are anticipated by the ancient Egyptians. From this it is concluded that the Egyptian race always possessed some providential prescience of Christianity.

Narrative finds a different application in miracle stories. Miracle is central to Coptic spirituality, and miracle stories are varied in the extreme. Many are simple wonder stories; others underscore values as in the case of narratives described above. But three special functions of the miracle story may be pointed out.

Firstly, a miracle may convey a divine judgment, it may vindicate the righteous. Thus, since it is not widely understood that a lay person may baptise, a story is told

of a mother who baptised her child during a storm at sea. When she returned safely to land she took the child to the priest. But when the latter tried to re-baptise the child the water in the font dried up. Another story refers to a personal dispute between Abba Matta and the hierarchy. The monks were uncertain whose side to take. Matta broke bread which was three days old and very dry. Immediately it turned soft. This was taken as a sign that he was in the right.

The second use of miracle is more obviously polemical. At the height of the Arab-Israeli war, when the patriotism of Copts was often questioned, a Bible was discovered floating in the Nile. It was open at the text, 'Blessed be Egypt, my people'.

Thirdly, miracle binds the natural to the supernatural. 'Polemical' miracles may have something spectacular about them, but most miracle stories are related quite casually, as if such occurrences are simply part of the world's texture. Archdeacon Fateen told us that he was once asked to prepare food for visitors at the monastery of St Macarius. There was very little spam (a great delicacy) left in the larder, and he asked if beans might do instead. The answer was no, only the best must be served. None the less Fateen decided to protect the monks from their own profligate generosity and disobeyed. The next day a miraculous 'draught' of spam was delivered by lorry at the monastery gates. The driver declared that he had been coming on the previous day, but at 8 p.m. the lorry broke down. It was at that hour that Fateen had hesitated in the larder.

Natural and supernatural causation are for the Copts unproblematically mingled. The Coptic universe is a miraculous universe since all meaning is ultimately unfathomable. The repeated appearances of our Lady at the Cairo suburb of Zeitoun met a ready and unquestioning response.

Relations with Islam

This is a complex subject and it deserves an article in itself. In the village Copts and Muslims have often lived happily side by side. As 'children of Abraham' all consider that a pilgrimage should be made to the holy city in the course of a lifetime, though for some that city is Jerusalem, for others Mecca. In the towns the Copts have often been able to occupy business positions vacated by Jews in recent times, and they constitute a large section of the middle class. Egyptian governments have stood for religious tolerance and have offered some encouragement to the monasteries in their uniquely successful endeavours to reclaim agricultural land from the Sahara.

None the less the Copts suffer certain important legal disabilities, the scope of which is extended year by year as the letter of the Islamic law is increasingly insisted upon. Thus, whenever permission is given for the building of a Christian church, a mosque must soon appear beside it. Copts are required to work on Sundays after 10 a.m. They cannot inherit from Muslims. A Coptic man may not marry a Muslim woman unless he converts to Islam (though this does not apply vice versa). A Christian wife who is divorced by her Muslim husband has no right to the

custody of the children; or widowed, she receives nothing from her husband's estate. In addition to such legal disabilities, the administration operates positively in favour of Islam in appointments, promotions, admission to teacher training colleges or permits for religious buildings. Insufficient attempts are made to inhibit the campaigns of Muslim extremists against the Christians. Yet such campaigns involve the burning of churches and violence against individuals, as well as the publication of anti-Christian propaganda.

The future

The Coptic revival is still under way. Its future depends on its ability to assimilate the thought of Christian traditions which have generated more critical self-awareness, while at the same time it seeks and needs to maintain its own unique character. Furthermore it depends on future developments in Egypt and particularly on the course taken by the Islamic revival in that country. It will be tragic if religious revival in Egypt is blighted by its old shadow, religious prejudice.

JOHN and ALISON MILBANK

ETHIOPIA

The general situation in Ethiopia has not recently changed sufficiently to attract much attention in the news media. However, Amnesty International has compiled sober and factual accounts of the human rights situation in its reports of December 1977 (AFR 25/07/77) and November 1978 (AFR 25/10/78), in its 1979 *Annual Report*, and in its May 1980 *Newsletter*; and the British Council of Churches has continued to circulate useful and informative material.

The May 1980 Amnesty *Newsletter* names 14 prisoners who disappeared in July 1979, but whose names had not previously been publicized. These include Abuna Tewoflos the deposed Patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, who is rumoured to have been killed by the government. The *Newsletter* also mentions Revd Gudina Tumsa, head of the Mekane Yesus Church, who was abducted in July 1979 by armed men believed to be government security agents. It is most disappointing that the Ethiopian government has merely denounced the Amnesty reports as lies; this means that no measure of credibility can be assumed for anything that the government says.

It is clear that there is considerable governmental pressure on all religious bodies in Ethiopia, though this varies according to local circumstances. 1980 Easter celebrations in the Orthodox churches were well attended, and other churches also are reporting an increase in the commitment of their members. The number of missionaries is slowly increasing again, and a trickle of Christian literature is being published. There has been a marked reduction in the rate of random killings, but large numbers of people are still held in prison. The famine situation is worsening, and it is claimed (*Ethiopian Herald* 30 April 1980) that over 5 million people are drought victims in urgent need of aid. The central government seems to feel itself more secure, and this has led to some loosening up of irksome restrictions; but internal autonomy conflicts or external aggression could flare up at any time.

The process of politicization continues with the formation of an 'organizing committee' for the coming 'political party'. It is probable that the problems of allegiance that Ethiopian Christians have already had – whether, for example, they should shout the slogan, 'Above all, the Revolution!' – will be intensified by this process, and they are in need of informed prayers and support.

ROGER COWLEY

SYRIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN EUROPE

Introduction

The last ten years or so have witnessed a large-scale influx of Syrian Orthodox into Europe, mostly as migrant workers from Turkey. Such are their numbers now that in 1979 a new archdiocese of Middle (Central) Europe and the Benelux Countries was established. The first occupant of this see is His Eminence Mar Yulios Yeshu (Isa) Çiçek, who was consecrated by the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch, His Holiness Moran Ignatios Yakub III on 24 June 1979 in the church of St Ludgerus at Hengelo (Holland). From 1977 until his consecration as metropolitan Rabban Isa Çiçek had been Patriarchal Vicar in Europe, and before that, superior of the monastery of Mar Gabriel, in Tur 'Abdin south-east Turkey (1962-73). A short biography of Metropolitan Yulios, written originally in Syriac by Malfono ('teacher') Isa Gülcan of the monastery of Mar Gabriel, and translated and annotated by Andrew Palmer, will be found at the end of this short report.

Metropolitan Yulios' flock are to be found scattered over West Germany (where there are now seven priests), Holland, Belgium, France, Austria (with a priest in Vienna) and Switzerland. By 1978 fifteen local church committees had been established in these countries, with a single priest often having to minister to several communities at a time. In Sweden, where considerable numbers of Syrian Orthodox from Turkey have been allowed to settle, there are six further priests and a bishop, Mar Timotheos Abbudi, who was appointed bishop of Scandinavia and Great Britain in 1977 (at present there are only a small number of Syrian Orthodox in Great Britain). Bishop Timotheos resides at Södertälje, near Stockholm.

The original home of the vast majority of this Syrian Orthodox diaspora in Europe is the area known as Tur 'Abdin, east of Mardin in south-east Turkey, which has been a centre of Syriac culture since at least the fifth century. Today it is an economically depressed area, where life is made all the harder for the local Christian minority by continual harassment from the Kurdish population of the area. There were large-scale massacres of Syrian Orthodox in this part of Turkey, as well as of Armenians further north, earlier this century. Besides open robbery and assault, abductions of girls of marriageable age and assassinations are not infrequent, yet little or no attempt is ever made by the local authorities to bring those guilty to justice. It is hardly surprising in these circumstances that more and more families have decided to leave their ancestral homeland and emigrate, either to the comparative safety of Istanbul, or to Europe; at the same time their departure renders the survival of those who remain all the more precarious.

The exodus of migrant workers from Tur 'Abdin began in the mid sixties, mainly to Germany as *Gastarbeiter*. In 1971, the year when the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch visited Pope Paul VI, Bittis (Peter) Ögünç Schüsche, a former schoolmaster from

Midyat (the main town of Tur 'Abdin), was ordained to serve as the first resident Syrian Orthodox priest in Germany, and it is largely due to his initial efforts, as he travelled continuously up and down the country visiting the scattered Syrian Orthodox communities, that the Syrian Orthodox Church has managed to retain the loyalty of this new diaspora as it began to come into contact with the bewildering and alien culture of western Europe. Today Fr Bitris' 'parish' covers the whole of Bavaria, while other parts of Germany are now served by Fr Yuhannon Teber (Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Bergen), Fr Abdullah Qis Efrem (Baden-Württemberg), Fr Yusuf Harman and Fr Ibrahim Göle (Nordrhein-Westfalen), Fr Yakup Doganay and Fr Melke Aydin (Hessen).

According to one estimate there are now between 20,000 and 30,000 Syrian Orthodox in Europe. Although most start out as migrant workers, many try to settle, sometimes asking for refugee status. In Sweden some 1,500 were granted asylum between 1975 and early 1976 when government policy altered. In Holland the three-month 'sit-in' by 200 Syrian Orthodox in the Catholic Cathedral in 'sHertogenbosch, widely reported in the papers last year, was undertaken as an attempt to persuade the Dutch Government to allow them to settle in that country. Having once asked for refugee status a person renders himself liable, if he returns to Turkey, to a maximum of five years' imprisonment for discrediting the Turkish State.

Once in Europe, some of the younger generation are attracted by the aims of the 'Assyrian Universal Alliance', an essentially political body whose membership was until recently confined to the Church of the East. Although at first sight this might appear a welcome means of bridging the theological gap between the Syrian Orthodox and the Church of the East, in practice it has brought friction within various Syrian Orthodox communities (especially in Sweden), and the use of the name 'Assyrian' by Syrian Orthodox has now been condemned by a synod held at Damascus in October 1979. This is clearly a problem that will require skilful handling by the Syrian Orthodox hierarchy in coming years. Quite apart from other cogent considerations, it would be lamentable if the genuine Aramean and Syriac cultural heritage of the Syrian Orthodox Church were to be overlooked in favour of alleged connections with the ancient Assyrians.

SEBASTIAN BROCK

THE SYRIAN ORTHODOX METROPOLITAN OF CENTRAL EUROPE

Yeshu Çiçek was born in 1942 in Upper Kafro, a village in a mountainous region of south-east Turkey called Tur 'Abdin, the son of Qashisho Barsawmo and Bath Qoymo Saydo. At the age of nine he went to the monastery of Mar Hananyo ('Dayr-al-Za'faran') near Mardin, where he studied Syriac, Turkish and Arabic in the Junior Seminary.¹ He was ordained a deacon in 1958, and entered the service of the late Metropolitan of Mardin, Mar Philoxenos Yuhannon Dolabani,² who attached him symbolically to the abandoned abbey of Mar Cyriacus in the region of Siirt, south of Bitlis. In that area are a number of Syrian and Armenian Christians, with no priests to minister to them, and Bishop Dolabani had chosen Çiçek for the urgent mission of seeking them out and providing for their spiritual needs.³

Taking as his companion his brother, Lahdo, Yeshu Çiçek set out for these remote and dangerous mountains, carrying the Bread of Communion consecrated by his father, the priest of Upper Kafro. Wherever he found Christians, he instructed them anew in the faith, of which they had forgotten all but the name, and administered the sacraments, consecrating marriages and baptising about 250 souls. He especially encouraged the reading of Holy Scripture.⁴ These foundations were consolidated in the course of further visits, journeys not without risk in a part of the world where hostility to Christianity is active and often violent.

After this, in accordance with the vow made by his parents that he should be a monk, his bishop sent him to the monastery of Mar Gabriel, near Qartmin in Tur 'Abdin, with a letter to Mar Iwannis Afrem Bilgic the Bishop of Tur 'Abdin, recommending him for the monastic tonsure.⁵ On 22 May 1960 he was made a novice and embraced the ascetic life. He taught in the school and copied many books with an excellent hand, showing himself such a good monk that, when

1. *Dayr-al-Za'faran* = 'saffron monastery', probably a fifth century foundation; from the twelfth century until 1923 it was the seat of the Syrian Orthodox patriarchs.
2. See his biography in *Östkirchliche Studien* 26 (1977), pp.46-52.
3. There is no bar between Armenian and Syrian Orthodox. Both suffered crushing blows at the hands of government forces in 1895, 1915 and 1926.
4. The New Testament has been translated into Turkish (*Incil*), but the style is obscure and a translation into a simpler idiom would be welcomed.
5. Mar Gabriel was founded in 397 by Mar Samuel and Mar Simeon and originally known by their name. The monastery near Qartmin was one of the greatest in the Syrian Orthodox Church, but it has been impoverished by successive invasions. The eponymous Mar Gabriel lived in the seventh century; the monastery is also known as Dayr-al-umr. See F.Nau, 'Notice Historique sur le monastère de Qartmin', in *Actes du XIVe congrès des orientalistes, Alger 1905*, vol. 2 (Paris 1907). Afrem Bilgic was born in 1891. Ordained priest in 1910, in spite of his own protests, to take the place of his dead father; consecrated bishop of Tur 'Abdin in March 1952 in Homs by H.H. Mar Ignatios Afrem I. Ordained many priests and deacons and consecrated many rebuilt churches, which had been destroyed in the wars. Retired 1973 to the monastery of Mar Gabriel, where he still lives.

Fr Shabo Gunes of Midoun retired in 1962, the brothers chose Yeshu Çiçek as his successor in the direction of the monastery. He remained abbot until 1973. During his absence on Turkish military service in 1967 his place was taken by Brother Eliyo Oztas of Mzizah, who is now at the monastery of St Mark in Jerusalem. On his return in 1969, Bishop Afrem ordained him priest.

Under Rabban Isa's leadership the number of monks increased to seven and they were joined by more than ten nuns.⁶ Such numerous vocations, especially among women, had not been seen for centuries in the Syrian Orthodox Church. He also took such a care for the School that it became once more a place of preparation for teachers, monks and priests, well equipped to serve the scattered Syrian community at home and abroad. In this he was helped by the close collaboration of Malfono Isa Gülcan of Bote, who is still teaching at the School.

Rabban Isa (Yeshu Çiçek) was active in providing for the material needs of his monastery. In the course of visits to Qamishly in Syria and to various Syrian settlements in the Near East he collected a large sum of money, which was considerably augmented during a visit to Europe in 1972. With this money he bought a minibus and an electric generator, the former for transporting food from Midyat and from the villages to the monastery, the latter to provide light and to power a water-pump, which transfers water from the ancient reservoirs underground to a tank at a high level, thus making running water available throughout the monastery.⁷

Many buildings were added in his time to the monastic complex. The generous donations of Syrians from the United States of America, presented by Mar Athanasios Yeshu, the Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan of America and Canada, provided for the building of a belfry on the Great Church and, along the north side of the monastery above the ancient buildings, rooms for guests, lavatories, a library, a room for the abbot and a house for the teacher and his family. A Syrian lady resident in Uruguay built dormitories for the schoolboys and a Syrian layman from Elazig provided funds for a schoolroom and for a new pavement in the Great Church.⁸

Other works completed in Rabban Isa's time were: extra rooms in the nuns' apartments, an outer wall on the south side of the monastery, enclosing three yards, the cementing of the roofs of the ancient buildings and three stone tables in the refectory.

At this time the Turkish authorities built an asphalt road to the monastery from the village of Qartmin, which lies three kilometres to the south. Many more visitors come now than have come for many hundreds of years and Christians of different

6. For a detailed account see the article by Elijbah Gülcan in *Sobornost* 7:4 (1977), pp. 288-98.
7. Mains electricity was finally brought to the monastery in 1979.
8. These buildings were erected by the brothers Shem'un, Gabro and Afrem of Midyat. The ornately sculpted facades in the honey-pink local limestone were executed by Sa'do, Shabo and Abraham of Midyat.

denominations find an open welcome.⁹ It is our fervent prayer that this new sprouting from the stump of a fruitful olive, many times cut down, may grow to full maturity and furnish many harvests.¹⁰

In 1973 Yeshu Çiçek went to Damascus and from there to the Seminary of Mar Afrem at Atchane in the Lebanon, where he spent one winter. After a pilgrimage to the Holy Land by way of Cyprus he visited his monastery again in 1974. He then went to Germany, where he learned the German language and ministered to the Syrians of the diaspora. At the request of the Metropolitan of America, the Patriarch sent him to Detroit, where he stayed 1975-7, learning English and exercising his ministry amongst the Syrian Orthodox in that country. While in the United States, he added three books to his two previous publications.¹¹

In 1977 he returned to Europe and settled in Holland at Hengelo. The Holy Synod had decided to create two new dioceses, one of Scandinavia and Great Britain with Mar Timotheos 'Abbudi as its bishop, and one of Central Europe with Rabban Isa as the Patriarchal Vicar. Immediately he set about organising the administration of his scattered flock by church committees and collecting money to buy a hall in Hengelo, which is now the church of St John the Evangelist. This — the first Syrian Orthodox church in Europe — was consecrated by his holiness Moran Ignatios Yaqub III, Patriarch of Antioch and of all the East, during his visit to Europe in 1977.¹²

In 1978 Rabban Isa began publication of the magazine *Qolo Suryoyo*, or 'Voice of the Syrians', which gives news of the Syrian communities in Europe and the Near East in Syriac, Turkish, German, Dutch and English. He established excellent relations with other Churches, especially with the Roman Catholic Church, which, since the historic agreement between the heads of the two Churches in 1971, has acted as host to the churchless Syrians in Europe.¹³ With other dignitaries of the Syrian Orthodox Church, Rabban Isa visited the short-lived but memorable Pope John Paul I and in the early part of 1979 he travelled to Rome again to see Pope

9. In the Centuries before Islam Qartmin monastery was a centre of pilgrimage. Mar Philoxenos of Mabboug told a friend: 'Seven faithful pilgrimages to the Abbey of Qartmin are as good as a visit to the Holy Land'. A relic of this famous Father of the Syrian Orthodox Church is enclosed in one of the walls of the burial vault.
10. The monastery was sacked in 530, 580, 1100, 1296, 1394, and 1714 and abandoned each time for varying periods. After the last sacking it was deserted for 120 years, as we know from the Fenqitho of the monastery (see S.P. Brock, *Östkirchliche Studien*, 28 (1979), pp.68-82).
11. i) *A Short Catechism*, written by Patriarch Afrem I and translated by Bishop Dolabani (Qamishly 1967 and Germany 1975); ii) *History of Qartmin Abbey*, translated into Arabic from the Syriac of Dolabani (Qamishly 1968); iii) A new edition of Gabriel Sawmo's book on Syriac Culture, with a poem exhorting the Syrian youth to love their ancient tongue, the language of our Saviour (Germany 1975); iv) 'Theodora the Syrian', a drama written in Arabic by Bishop Behnam and translated into Syriac by Dolabani (Michigan 1977); v) *Anthology of the Syriac Fathers* (Michigan 1977).
12. There is now also a church of Mar Gabriel in Sweden.
13. For the Agreement with Rome, see *Qolo Suryoyo* 8 (1979), pp.17-18.

John Paul II, who expressed the hope that he might one day visit the Patriarch in Damascus.

In the summer of the same year, his holiness the Patriarch visited England and the Netherlands and on 24 May 1979 in the church of St Ludgerus at Hengelo consecrated Yeshu Çiçek as bishop of Central Europe, with the name of Yulios. Bishop Yulios accompanied the Patriarch to 'sHertogenbosch, where Syrians had occupied a church for three months to draw attention to their plight as refugees. Living in the humblest conditions at Hengelo, Bishop Yulios travels much in the service of his widespread charges.¹⁴ It need hardly be said that the Syrians in Europe are glad to have a bishop of their own. Mar Yulios Yeshu is a symbol of their firm intention to settle in Europe and adapt to the new conditions of their life, while safe-guarding their Christian tradition, which they consider to be the oldest in the world.

ISA GÜLCAN and ANDREW PALMER

14. The pagan Ammianus Marcellinus was impressed by the simplicity of the life-style of Syrian bishops in the fourth century; this admirable tradition has continued until today.

PASTORAL MINISTRY IN THE CHURCH OF GREECE

An Anglican Comment

'There isn't any', said one Orthodox priest from the West, when I told him that I intended to spend my nine month Usher scholarship in Greece studying pastoral work. Six months later, I found that this was not so, although my initial impressions were that he was right and I heard many complaints to that effect.

I was based at the Vlatadon monastery in Salonika, like John Fenwick before me, and experienced a similar mixture of frustration and delight.* The first six months were spent working at the language, adjusting to Greek ways, making some friends, trying to 'get inside' Orthodoxy, wrestling with the usual ecumenical issues and making the two customary pilgrimages to the Phanar and the Holy Mountain.

Thus prepared, I was fortunate enough to travel more widely through Greece and to see what is happening in some parishes and dioceses other than Salonika. I cannot pretend that my findings are very reliable, limited as I was by time, language and presuppositions. But I offer the following observations in the belief that some news from a distant friend or relation is usually better than none at all.

I was entertained and welcomed by four dioceses in particular – Volos and Nikaea (a suburb of Athens) on the mainland, Chania and Rethymnon in Crete. It was striking how different in character and atmosphere was each diocese, depending largely on the bishop. Small dioceses, such as exist in Greece, are clearly a great advantage when the bishop is good and energetic, since he can achieve a great deal in a short period, although conversely an inadequate one can undo it all almost as quickly.

Volos, for example, has barely more than 100,000 people in it, most of whom live in the town itself – one of the largest industrial towns in Greece. The young bishop, Christodoulos, presented me with an icon as a token of goodwill to my Church and welcomed me warmly with the words: 'We believe that the only hope for mankind is in the Lord Jesus Christ and we are trying to put this across in the contemporary world'. This is the driving force behind a multitude of activities and enterprises, which he organizes with great efficiency.

These have their focus in a building called the 'Spiritual and Family Centre'. During the mornings it is an office, to which people come for counselling and practical advice on marriage, family matters and finance. It is run by a priest and a social worker and it is a fairly recent development. The Centre has had considerable success in saving marriages and securing peace in homes. The State offers no parallel service. In the evenings there is always some kind of activity at the Centre such as Byzantine music lessons, a Bible exposition, a workshop on heresies, a school for deaf and dumb people or a youth meeting. The night I was there, I attended the

* See *Sobornost* 7:4 (1977), pp.280ff, for an entertaining account of John Fenwick's experience.

final talk of a series given by a priest to the dozen or so couples who were to be married the following Sunday. The talk was illustrated from the New Testament and from the speaker's own experience, and though the participants could have looked more interested, it was a happy occasion. Each received a book.

In fact, the Bishop obviously believes firmly in the printed word and he is a prolific writer of books and booklets. Among other things he issues a weekly sermon which parish priests can use at the Sunday Liturgy if they are poor preachers. He has his own publishing imprint called 'The Golden Spring'; its books are sold, together with many others, at the diocesan bookshop and on bookstalls (unusual in Greece). A large number are given away free. They cover every imaginable aspect of belief, apologetics and practical Christianity: prayer, humility, science and belief, occasional churchgoing, death and sickness, the Church's year, marriage. Many are addressed specifically to young people, with titles such as *Has the Church Betrayed Her Mission?*, *Christianity and Marxism*, *Young People and the Church*, *Sex on the Screen*. The writings suggest that he has a lively personal contact with people, including the young, and a clear grasp of the things that concern them. He admitted that one of the main problems facing the Church was the alienation of the youth, although he does seem to be making as much progress as anyone.

The other main problem that the Bishop faces is the lack of education among parish priests. Those who are sufficiently trained he sends into every institution that will open its doors – the hospitals, the army camp, factories, schools. He himself is said to be a dynamic preacher and he regularly invites all the police, or the doctors, or the teachers of the town to lunch and a sermon. There is also a monthly Liturgy for all those connected with church work.

The Church in Volos is an intelligent, educative and all-pervading force. The Bishop would be the first to admit that not everything is a roaring success and that the Church has to face much indifference and criticism. But things are happening, and the clergy I met seemed very glad to be part of it all.

The Spiritual and Family Centre (*Pneumatikon Kentron*) is an institution which I found in many other places; I could give a similar picture of the other three dioceses that I looked at closely and, to a lesser extent, of certain parishes in Salonika. But the work in Volos seems to concentrate more than others on the didactic and missionary task of the Church. Metropolitan Panteleimon Rodopoulos – an old friend of Usher scholars and a very helpful supervisor for me personally – was keen that I should see Volos. It illustrates many of the principles which he teaches in his pastoral studies course at Salonika University. So such efforts, if few, are likely to spread.

All four dioceses are very active in community and welfare work. There was provision for children's hostels, youth camps, free meals for school children, family counselling, old peoples homes, citizens' advice, cooking and handicraft classes. I heard many lay the usual charge of paternalism against such work but, as we know

from British history, it can prepare a blueprint for the welfare state, as well as meeting real need.

Linked to the diocese of Chania at the west end of Crete is the unique Orthodox Academy of Crete, which is really a conference centre and which acts rather as a large scale *Pneumatikon Kentron* for the whole of Greece. Weekend and week-long conferences are held on every subject imaginable, from pottery classes to clergy refresher courses. I witnessed a conference for sixth formers which left me with the impression that Greek young people, whose thought is politically orientated, seek a coherent rationale for Christian belief. The Academy is also concerned to improve village life in the surrounding area. It has a model farm and a wine co-operative, and it organizes a network of women's groups. These agitate for better community facilities and for peace between the men (who rarely come to church); they organize local gatherings to discuss such matters as how to increase the olive yield or how to cope with problems posed by foreign tourists.

The above will have a familiar ring about it to any who have experience of Greece or who know the two comprehensive works on Greek church life, Peter Hammond's *Waters of Marah* and Mario Rinvulcri's *Anatomy of a Church*, which deal with the early fifties and early sixties respectively. Since then, the country has seen marked political and social change, with the inevitable increase of Western and secular influence. Yet there seems to have been a basic continuity in church life. Rinvulcri's pessimism about monasticism is proving unfounded in view of recent developments on Mount Athos. There is also improvement elsewhere, as in the diocese of Rethymnon, whose bishop has revitalized about fifteen monasteries in the course of eight years.

To some the work in Volos especially will evoke memories of the Zoe movement. This is no accident since I learned that twenty years ago the assistant director of the Cretan Academy had been in a local Zoe youth group led by the Bishop of Volos, who was then a young monk at nearby Meteora. Personally I do not share the dislike of this movement that is often voiced. I visited its headquarters in Athens and had a very interesting talk with Fr Elias, a former leader. He admitted that the movement is in decline, has far outgrown its strength and, to a certain extent, outlived its usefulness. But it has left a legacy of liturgical attentiveness, pastoral awareness and Biblical interest throughout Greece. Fr Elias quoted the motto of the founder, 'You must fight the battle for depth, before you win the battle of breadth'. And he thought it was time to prune Zoe activities so as to return to the original emphasis on simplicity and spirituality. Perhaps it is a similar realization which has been drawing the steady trickle of young people to Athos.

Some would say there is a basic incompatibility between Zoe type activism and traditional Athonite spirituality. If so I find it very disappointing and in my heart I cannot believe it. I was greatly in agreement with Sir John Lawrence's article in a recent issue of *Sobornost/ECR* and constantly pray for the cross-fertilization of which he speaks. Cultural and spiritual exclusiveness is a luxury no Church can afford while there are still sheep to be found and fed.

THE BYZANTINE SAINT

A report on the fourteenth spring symposium of Byzantine Studies at the University of Birmingham

In March each year the Centre for Byzantine Studies and the Department of Extramural Studies at the University of Birmingham organize a week-end symposium focussing on some particular theme. Past years have seen such topics as Asceticism, Iconoclasm, as well as several more secular subjects (including the Byzantine Underworld). This year's symposium, held 22-25 March, was devoted to the Byzantine Saint.

The proceedings opened with a characteristically fine paper by Professor Henry Chadwick on 'Pachomius and the idea of sanctity'. The concept of sanctity, however, rarely featured again in the subsequent talks and communications, for in these the interest was essentially literary, social, historical or artistic. Speakers came from Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, the Soviet Union, Sweden and the United States of America, as well as from Britain. A very wide range of subjects was covered, with main papers on 'Hagiography and the narrative straightjacket' (Dr Anna Crabbe), 'Sanctity and Power' (studied from a structuralist point of view) by Professor Evelyn Patlagean, 'Iconodule saints in the Madrid *Skylitzes*' (the Revd Dr Christopher Walter), 'The iconography of the Byzantine saint in illuminations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries' (superbly illustrated) by Dr Vera Likhacheva, and a pioneer study of 'The *panegyris* of the Byzantine saint' by Professor Speros Vryonis.

Groups of discussion papers centred round such varied topics as 'The origins of the Byzantine saint', 'The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste', and 'The saint in politics'. Particularly memorable was Dr Lennart Ryden's contribution on the Holy Fool. No symposium on hagiography would be complete without representatives of the Society of Bollandists, the compilers of the massive *Acta Sanctorum*; needless to say the directing committee had not overlooked this, and two members of the Society were present, Fr F. Van Ommeslaeghe, who spoke on Bollandist methodology, and Fr Michel van Esbroeck, who gave a brilliant exposé of the background to the composition of the life of St Sophia in a paper entitled 'The symbolic saint'.

Various receptions and a final feast (with a performance of Dufay's *Lamentatio Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*) provided a happy counter-balance to what otherwise might have been a rather arduous intellectual regimen imposed by such a full programme (numerous short communications filled in any empty gaps in the timetable). Three exhibitions were also provided for the enjoyment of participants. Two collections (one loaned from the British Museum) of coins, gems and seals were displayed in the Barber Institute, and a superb selection of photographs of churches and monasteries in Eastern Anatolia was exhibited by T.A. Sinclair.

The original launching and the continuing success of these annual symposia are very largely the result of the flair and imagination of the Director of the Centre for Byzantine Studies, Anthony Bryer; most appropriately the University of Birmingham has recently given him a personal chair in recognition of his work in the cause of Byzantine Studies in this country.

SEBASTIAN BROCK

THE BYZANTINE SAINT

University of Birmingham XIV Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (1980)

A volume of selected papers

edited and introduced by SERGEI HACKEL

ANTHONY BRYER, 'The XIV Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies'; HENRY CHADWICK, 'Pachomius and the Idea of Sanctity'; HAN J.W. DRIJVERS, 'Hellenistic and Oriental Origins'; SUSAN ASHBROOK HARVEY, 'The Politicisation of the Byzantine Saint'; ROSEMARY MORRIS, 'The Political Saint of the Eleventh Century'; PAUL MAGDALINO, 'The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century'; RUTH MACRIDES, 'Saints and Sainthood in the Early Paleologan Period'; EVELYNE PATLAGEAN, 'Sainteté et Pouvoir'; LENNART RYDEN, 'The Holy Fool'; ROBERT BROWNING, 'The "Low Level" Saint's Life in the Early Byzantine World'; MICHEL VAN ESBROECK, 'Le Saint comme Symbole'; ANNA CRABBE, 'St Polychronius and his Companions — but which Polychronius?'; FLOR VAN OMMESELAEGHE, 'The *Acta Sanctorum* and Bollandist Methodology'; JOSEPH A. MUNITIZ, 'Self-canonisation: the "Partial Account" of Nicephorus Blemmydes'; E.D. HUNT, 'The Traffic in Relics'; DAVID BUXTON, 'The Mass-produced Byzantine Saint' (summary); ZAGA GAVRILOVIĆ, 'The Forty in Art' (summary); VERA LIKHACHEVA, 'The Iconography of the Byzantine Saint of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries' (summary); SPEROS VRYONIS Jr 'The Panegyris of the Byzantine Saint'.

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Due to be published January 1981

Provisional price £5.00

'What lack I yet?'

A Meditation*

LEV GILLET

Today we shall be thinking about the phrase from St Matthew 19:20, 'What lack I yet?' I would like to regard these words as a question asked by each one of us. Let each of us also try to receive an answer to it.

The phrase comes from the following well known dialogue (Matthew 19:16-21):

And behold, one came and said to him, 'Good master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life?' And he said to him, 'Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is, God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments'. He said unto him, 'Which?' Jesus said, 'Thou shalt do no murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness. Honour thy father and thy mother: and, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'. The young man saith unto him, 'All these things have I kept from my youth up: what lack I yet?' Jesus said unto him, 'If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me.'

The passage begins with two little words, *And behold*. You must take these words seriously. 'Behold' what we have read together, contemplate it, take it, keep it. This episode did not only happen years ago. We do not only believe in it historically. It truly happens every time we concentrate our hearts and our attention on it. They also are addressed to each of us this morning.

One came and said unto him, 'Good master'. Jesus stops him immediately and says, 'There is none good but one'. It was the young man's first mistake to begin to speak in this way. Why 'Good master'? If Jesus is master, we do not need the adjective. Here is the good, the powerful, the redeemer: we throw ourselves at his feet. We weaken the words 'good' and 'master' by juxtaposing them.

Now for the young man's second mistake, his question, '*What good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life?*' It shows how little he realises where he is and to whom he is speaking. At the moment when he is meeting the supreme person, he asks the prosaic question, 'What good thing shall I do?' True, his intention is excellent. But he fails to recognize the Reality he has encountered, the Reality which is as much above good things as bad. The one 'thing' that matters now is to establish a relationship with the person before him.

... *that I may have eternal life*. When he should have fallen prostrate in total obedience, in readiness to do whatever was inspired in him, he asks for some thing,

* Given at the Conference of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1978.

and he asks for himself. In fact he stands before eternal life and does not know it. *If thou wilt enter into life.* Note that Jesus speaks of *entering* into life. This is only the beginning, no more.

Jesus refers him to the commandments in the plural, though he does not specifically mention the first and great commandment, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul and with all thy might'. But it may be remembered in this context that the words of this commandment express something which the Greeks were not able to translate: the meaning is not just 'with all thy might' but 'with all thy totality', 'with thy whole self', which is more than heart and soul and might together. Only from the totality can we come down to particular things, only with the totality can we love.

'What lack I yet?' He wants to add something to his minor perfections. He does not recognise that he stands in the presence of perfection itself, the total presence which actualises and replaces all the commandments.

So what was he lacking if all his life he had kept the commandments? *If thou wilt be perfect go and sell that thou hast*. In Greek the word for 'perfect' is connected with the word for 'end' or 'goal'. We must become our goal. The life of each person has an end or a goal: each of us corresponds to an intention of God's. How shall I reach my end, God's intention for me? There is no question of reaching the perfection of God himself. Nevertheless 'If thou wilt be perfect' refers to each according to his own perfection.

'*Sell that thou hast*'. The young man had many possessions, intelligence, even piety. Sell those things, he was told, turn them into money. The Lord knew that it is easier to break with money than with land and possessions, with things of the earth. 'Sell' meant 'Make it easier to share and communicate your wealth'. Sell, so that you will not be linked with property any more. Place yourself in total disposability at the feet of the Lord. Sell to the poor: in other words, 'Sell yourself to me'. In response receive Jesus Christ entirely for yourself. 'And thou shalt have treasure in heaven.'

And come and follow me. When one is contemplating Jesus, one's vision can become fixed on a static image. Rather should one be ready to move, to follow him wherever he leads, perfectly ready for anything. These words 'come and follow me' are echoed in Francis Thompson's *Hound of Heaven*, in the divine pursuer who requires us to 'come'. May we heed those words. And we shall have them with us until the moment of our death. Blessed shall we be if at that moment we hear the word 'come'.

'What lack I yet?' 'If thou lackest me, thou lackest everything.'

If I find thee, I have found everything.

Obituaries

LEV GILLET

In one of the comparatively few years when East and West celebrate Easter on the same date, on the eve of Holy Week 1980, at sunset on Saturday 29 March, Fr Lev Gillet fell asleep in the Lord. He died peacefully, alone in his room at St Basil's House, London, which had been home to him since 1948. He was in his 88th year. That morning he had celebrated the Holy Liturgy of the day — which in the Byzantine rite commemorates the raising of Lazarus — and he had spent the rest of the day quietly in relaxed good humour.

Fr Lev will be deeply missed by his many friends. He was very affectionate and kind, and his relationship with each of his friends had the simplicity and integrity of a true person-to-person encounter. Yet his death was also an occasion of joy because it brought with it a perceptible sense of the fulfilment of a life's work dedicated to the service of his Lord and Master.

The quality of meekness

Those who were privileged to know Fr Lev recognised him as a man of quite exceptional intelligence, perceptiveness and knowledge, with a wide spectrum of human gifts and great sensitivity. For him God revealed in Jesus Christ was the absolute reality of all existence, and he lived in a very special way on the spiritual sustenance of the Holy Scriptures. Fr Lev's primary witness was to faith in God: God transcendent in majesty and power, eternally living in the love which is revealed to the Church in the mystery of the Trinity; God immanent as Creator and Redeemer, who in the mystery of sacrificial love embraces each of his creatures with the ever-watchful tenderness of selfless parenthood.

For Fr Lev the overwhelming wonder of God as he is known in the Christian revelation was the quality of *meekness*. Unlike humility, with which it is sometimes confused, and which is an attitude of heart and mind that can be destroyed even by its recognition, meekness is an act of the will. It is not an attribute valued by the world, and scant attention is paid to it by modern theologians. Like the concept of love itself, 'meekness' has been abused and made shabby through misrepresentation by the powers of darkness. Yet it is because of the divine meekness of perfect being that God the Holy Trinity is also God the Creator of the world; it is the divine meekness that endowed man with free will; and the divine meekness which made possible the salvation of sinful man.

Fr Lev treated all men's quests for God with great respect; for he recognised that no one and nothing is outside the active mission of the Holy Spirit. He had expert

knowledge of the Great Religions of the world, but he was never confused about the uniqueness of the Christian faith, unique because of the meekness of a personal God revealed in Christ.

An enigmatic figure

In many respects Fr Lev appeared to his contemporaries as an enigmatic figure. As a spiritual guide he had a wide following and his spiritual writings — largely based on the retreats and homilies he gave in the latter half of his life — are treasured by a reading public from a wide variety of backgrounds. Yet some were critical of his apparent evasion of contemporary theological debates. He was held in great affection as a warm and generous friend, yet on occasions his reactions were unpredictable and not without asperity. It puzzled many that a man of such outstanding intellectual gifts and industrious scholarship should confine his writings to short homilies of a pious nature instead of contributing to the learned journals of the day. Others were puzzled how it could be that a monk-priest lived outside the accepted framework of either a monastic community or a diocesan administrative system. Those with knowledge of his ecclesiastical background were puzzled by his canonical status: a priest recognised as belonging to the Orthodox Communion who yet insisted that when he joined the Russian Orthodox Church in France in the 1920s he had never been asked to abjure his Roman Catholic faith. Nor was he ever to do so.

The evident paradoxes in his situation were all the more striking because he had a very precise and tenacious adherence to the formal requirements of ecclesiastical canon law. Fr Lev's conformity to his own vocation was neither haphazard nor confused. An intelligent response such as Fr Lev's, is always guided by priorities and it is these priorities which give coherence to his vocation. For him the priority was God: God's love and the divine meekness of this love. Man's response of faith therefore must needs be the meekness of obedient love.

The dangers of acclaim

I have often heard Fr Lev marvel at the quality of meekness he had observed in individual men and women. It evoked in him the deepest awe and a profound sense of reverence. Although he praised many virtues in others, it was meekness above all else that convinced him of a person's sanctity. In public life, even among Christians, there are many virtues which attract greater acclaim, such as generosity to the poor, championship of the oppressed, care for the sick and for outcasts, missionary zeal in spreading the Gospel or defending the faith against heresy. Fr Lev appreciated all these and he had the human qualities which would have enabled him to seek perfection along any of these ways. Indeed, he followed these paths when the

to seek to establish a Byzantine-rite Catholic Church inside Russia as a 'bridge' across the Latin-Eastern cultural divide; by this means they hoped that full communion could be restored between Rome and the Orthodox. The history of this abortive enterprise has been much misunderstood, and indeed misrepresented. It was under the immediate direction of a young Russian convert, Exarch Leonid Fedorov, but it was guided by Metropolitan Szeptytski who was regarded as the spiritual leader. Its failure can be seen in retrospect as due to its ecumenical vision, which was too far ahead of its time, as well as to the onslaught of the communist revolution which was soon to engulf it.

The influence of Szeptytski

This is not the place to assess the ecumenical significance of this movement. Suffice it to say that for the young novice Gillet the Solov'ev-Szeptytski-Fedorov venture of faith, provided the abiding motivation for his vocation to serve the cause of unity between Rome and the Orthodox. One of his fellow-novices at Farnborough recalled that it was during a visit of Metropolitan Szeptytski to that abbey that Fr Lev was captivated by this remarkable and saintly Ukrainian bishop (the cause for whose beatification was opened in Rome in 1955). Accordingly he moved to Lvov, where he adopted the Slavonic rite and completed his novitiate. He was ordained hieromonk — being given the monastic name Lev — by Metropolitan Szeptytski.

Lvov, which has had a stormy and complex political history, was under Poland at that time. Fr Lev became the personal and confidential secretary of Metropolitan Szeptytski and his devoted disciple, sharing in full his bishop's aspirations for unity. But by 1926-7 political events in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution had destroyed all prospects of success for the Russian venture and Fr Lev returned to France.

His transfer in 1928 to the Russian Orthodox Metropolitan Evlogii in Paris 'by concelebration' is one of the mysteries of Fr Lev's life, and his friends have placed various interpretations on his adherence to the Orthodox Church. His personal affirmation was that he identified himself with Solov'ev's position: that there is no intrinsic incompatibility in being Catholic and in communion with the Russian Orthodox Church because the two Churches were separated only by historical vicissitudes and not by any canonical impediment.

Metropolitan Szeptytski and the then Archbishop Evlogii had known one another in Lvov, and Fr Lev maintained that his move had the full knowledge and approval of Szeptytski. It would seem from Fr Lev's address at Metropolitan Evlogii's memorial service in 1945 that this understanding was also shared by Evlogii (*Sobornost* NS 34, 1946). I have attempted elsewhere to elucidate the logic of Fr Lev's ecumenical attitude, which he maintained throughout his life (*Chrysostom* v.8). His vocation was visionary and prophetic rather than an invitation to others to copy his example. It was not for display but was an interior, personal offering for the Lord to use and make fruitful as he chose.

The move from France to Britain

As a priest serving with the Russian Orthodox emigration in Paris the biography of Fr Lev is easier to chronicle. Dr Elizabeth Behr-Sigel has described his years in France in a tribute to him published in French (*Service Orthodoxe de Presse et d'Information* [Paris], May 1980). *Fr Lev moved to England in the 1930s, taking up permanent residence there in 1938. His association with the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius had started in the early days of its foundation, for Metropolitan Evlogii was one of its co-founders and its first Orthodox President. Fr Lev became chaplain to the Fellowship and resident at St Basil's House in November 1948, though he had been a frequent visitor and participant in Fellowship meetings from the time the house was acquired as the Fellowship's headquarters.

Fr Lev always avoided taking money for his religious duties and when he came to England he found work in a variety of capacities. For a time he was warden of a boys' hostel in the East End of London. At the outbreak of war he held a lectureship at Woodbrooke, the Quaker College in Selly Oak, Birmingham. He also worked for a time for the Society of Christians and Jews in London. In 1947 he was invited by members of the Orthodox Youth Movement in Lebanon to serve as their chaplain. It was a movement in which he took a keen interest — he always had a special rapport with young people — and he made many friends, some of whom are now bishops.

When Fr Lev left London for the Near East (at the beginning of 1948) he thought his departure was permanent, but he contracted amoebic dysentery and had to return to England. It was then that he agreed to come to St Basil's House: his room at the Foreign Missions Club in Hampstead, where he had previously stayed, was no longer available. He accepted board and lodging at St Basil's House in exchange for his duties as chaplain, but he earned his living by working part-time for the Spalding Trust and later for the Movement for the Great Religions of the World. This involved mainly literary work, reviewing books and making abstracts of papers.

The British Museum Reading Room was his day-time home in London and the YMCA nearby provided recreational facilities where he could keep up with the newspapers. He was always very well informed about current affairs. Fr Lev was an avid reader and was never without two or three books borrowed from the Westminster Public Library. Most frequently those might be biographies or historical works but they also covered a wide range of learned subjects (and they included advanced treatises on mathematics and on psychology). His theological studies were pursued at the British Museum, which also served informally as a scholars' meeting place in those days, for it attracted many overseas and refugee theologians.

Fr Lev continued as Fellowship chaplain until his death, conducting retreats and giving spiritual talks. During this time, however, he made regular visits abroad on a variety of pastoral missions, in later years most frequently to France and Switzerland. But he also kept in close touch with those he had known in the Youth Movement in Lebanon, and he visited a number of other countries, including Egypt, Greece and the Holy Land.

I was the Orthodox Fellowship Secretary when Fr Lev came to St Basil's House in 1948 and Joan Ford, who was the Anglican Secretary, had charge of the house. The household included a changing population of two or three other residents and often short-stay visitors from varied church backgrounds. We lived as a family, coming together for evening and weekend meals and for prayers in the chapel. In this homely atmosphere Fr Lev blossomed.

His eagerness to explore new byways that opened up before him remained unquenched by the passing years and gave him a youthful quality even in old age. His delightful wit and merry sense of humour are unforgettable. Although he was a deeply serious and intellectual person, it is his warm and generous friendship for people, the joy he found in the ordinary moments of life, his love for all God's creatures in the animal kingdom, his quality of happy contentment which I remember most vividly; they were the expressions of his maturity, his wisdom and his faith.

There were, of course, dark periods in his life as in every life: misunderstandings, irritations, griefs, illnesses and compassionate suffering with others. But at the end one no longer remembers those because 'joy cometh in the morning' (Ps. 30:5). And that is how it will be, please God, when Fr Lev is reunited with his friends and meets his Lord and Master face to face.

HELLE GEORGIADIS

* [She also intends to add a Note to the preceeding paragraphs, which will be published in the next number of *Sobornost/ECR*].

NICOLAS ZERNOV

One of the founders and principal inspirers of the Fellowship died on 25 August 1980. The deep affection and respect in which Dr Nicolas Zernov was held throughout the oecumene is demonstrated *inter alia* by the flood of tributes which are reaching his home (and for which his widow Militza wishes to express her warm appreciation). A full obituary of Nicolas Zernov will be provided in the next number; the number itself will be dedicated to his memory. Meanwhile the Fellowship is arranging an Anglican Requiem Eucharist, to be celebrated by Bishop Oliver Tomkins at St John's, Ladbroke Grove, London W11, at 6.30 p.m. on Thursday 23 October 1980. The service is to be followed by addresses on various aspects of Dr Zernov's work.

GRAHAM DELBRIDGE

We mourn the death of Graham Delbridge, Bishop of Gippsland, Australia, and his twenty-one year old daughter Judy, who were killed when their car was involved in a collision with another vehicle while she was driving him home from a Confirmation Service on Sunday 8 June 1980. He was 63.

Bishop Graham Delbridge had been a member of the Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission from the time of the first full meeting in the present series of conversations at Oxford in July 1973. He was not an academic theologian, but he was tremendously conscientious about this appointment, and prepared for each conference with an enormous amount of reading, on one occasion going through all the canons of the first seven Ecumenical Councils. He also brought to the Commission his lively sense of humour, his warm pastoral concern for Orthodox church-people in Australia and his desire to further the work of Anglican-Orthodox friendship and cooperation. This was in the context of his other ecumenical work which included the chairmanship of the Australian Council of Churches.

His influence was very wide in the Australian churches, and he always wrote up the Anglican-Orthodox Commission's conferences very fully on his return, in order to share his experiences (which included visits to Moscow and Riga in 1976 and to Athens in 1978) with his Australian readers. He did a great deal to welcome Archbishop Stylianos (a fellow-member of the Anglican-Orthodox Commission) when he arrived as Greek Orthodox Archbishop in Australia. He was responsible for setting up an Anglican-Orthodox Theological Consultation in Australia, to which Bishop John of Helsinki came as the chief speaker. He was also endeavouring to rejuvenate the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius there.

At the 1978 Lambeth Conference Bishop Delbridge gave an historical survey of Anglican-Orthodox relationships at the hearing on Anglican relations with other Churches.

At the time of his death he was preparing for the resumption of Anglican-Orthodox discussions at Llandaff in July, where he will be greatly missed.

We offer our deepest sympathy to his wife Audrey and the rest of their family on this double tragedy.

COLIN DAVEY

ALEXIS VAN DER MENSBRUGGHE

Archbishop Alexis van der Mensbrugghe, Russian Orthodox prelate of Düsseldorf (1970-9) died on 25 May 1980 (the Feast of the Holy Spirit). Many will remember his vital participation in the life of the Fellowship since the early 1930s. An obituary will appear in the next number of *Sobornost/ECR*.

Reviews

The Jesus Prayer

KALLISTOS WARE

The Name of Jesus by Irénée Hausherr, translated by Charles Cummings, OCSO (Cistercian Studies Series, Number 44; Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications 1978; distributed in Britain by A.R. Mowbray, Oxford; pp.viii + 358, £10.75).

Although the secrets of the spiritual life cannot be measured by statistics, it is safe to claim that never in any past epoch has the Jesus Prayer been known and used more widely than it is today. Certainly, never in the past has it been practised by so many lay people as well as monks and nuns, and by so many non-Orthodox as well as Orthodox. One indication of this widespread interest is the remarkable popularity enjoyed by the little book known in English as *The Way of a Pilgrim*. Originally published in Russia around 1870, at the time of its first appearance it excited little interest, being read and valued by a relatively narrow circle. Its real success came half a century later in the West. Translated into German in 1925, and shortly afterwards into French (1928) and English (1930), for Western readers it quickly became an established classic, continually reprinted: not long ago it even appeared in one of the major languages of the Indian sub-continent, Mahratti — and with an introduction by a Hindu. Paradoxically the Pilgrim's message has been heard, not so much by the world of nineteenth-century 'Holy Russia' to which he himself belonged, but by the very different world of our own time.

For all who are seriously interested in the history and practice of the Jesus Prayer, Fr Irénée Hausherr's book *The Name of Jesus* is of fundamental importance. First published in French under the title *Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 157: Rome 1960), it has lost none of its relevance and value during the last two decades. It is the last of Fr Hausherr's major works, written at a time when his sight was already failing; and this perhaps accounts for a certain unevenness, an occasional lack of outward polish and balance. But throughout the book the author's immense learning, and also his warm love for the Christian East, are plainly evident.

The career of Hausherr

For more than a quarter of a century, Fr Irénée Hausherr was the greatest living authority on the history of spirituality in the Christian East. Born in Alsace in

1891, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1909, becoming priest in 1923. In 1927 he was appointed professor of Eastern Christian spirituality at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, and here he remained for the next forty-eight years, until his retirement in 1975 to his native Alsace. He died on 5 December 1978. A good account of his life and writings, by his colleague and friend Fr Thomas Špidlík SJ may be found in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 45 (1979), pp.159-65.

Fr Hausherr's earliest work was *Saint Théodore Studite, l'homme et l'ascète* (Rome 1926). This was followed by a notable series of other studies, likewise published at Rome: *La méthode d'oraison hésychaste* (1927); an edition of the *Life of Symeon the New Theologian* by Nicetas Stethatos (1928); *Penthos. La doctrine de la componction dans l'Orient chrétien* (1944); *Philautie. De la tendresse pour soi à la charité selon Saint Maxime le Confesseur* (1952); *Direction spirituelle en Orient autrefois* (1955); finally, and perhaps most valuable of all, the work now made available in English, *Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison* (1960). To these should be added *Les leçons d'un contemplatif. Le traité de l'oraison d'Evagre le Pontique* (Paris 1960), and his long article 'Contemplation chez les Grecs et autres orientaux chrétiens', published in vol. ii of the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* under the pseudonym 'J. Lemaître'. His more important articles — and some of them are very important indeed — were collected in two substantial volumes, *Hésychasme et prière* (1966) and *Etudes de spiritualité orientale* (1969), both published at Rome: the first of these contains a full bibliography of his writings (pp.ix-xi).

All his works are marked by an extremely full knowledge of the sources: he was very widely read in Greek and Syriac, and familiar also with Armenian and Slavonic. Although his first book was on St Theodore the Studite, he chose subsequently to concentrate on the 'desert' or 'hesychast' rather than the cenobitic tradition. His favourite authors were Evagrius of Pontus and St Maximus the Confessor; by contrast, he wrote comparatively little on St Basil the Great. Despite his massive learning and his exacting precision over matters of detail, there is in almost all his writings a concern also for the practical and pastoral aspects of his subject. Endowed with a sharp Gallic irony which he readily displayed, he yet wrote from a standpoint of definite personal commitment, and he appealed not only to the head but to the heart.

His sympathy for Eastern spirituality is more explicit in his later writings. His earlier works are at times astringent in their comments on Byzantine hesychasm. Discussing the origins of the 'physical technique' recommended by Nicephorus of Mount Athos in connection with the Jesus Prayer, in 1927 he went so far as to remark: 'Perhaps human stupidity is enough to explain it all' (*La méthode d'oraison hésychaste*, p.50). Yet near the end of his life, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, he upheld the right of Gregory Palamas — a staunch defender of this same 'physical technique' — to be regarded as a saint of the Church. At that time the monastery of Grottaferrata was issuing a four-volume *Anthologion*, bearing the official blessing of the authorities at Rome, and containing in slightly abbreviated form the Greek text of the Byzantine office. The first volume appeared in 1967, the fourth in 1968;



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then there was a delay while the remaining two volumes were awaited, containing the services for Lent and Eastertide. Over these a problem had arisen: What was to be done with the second Sunday in Lent, on which since the fourteenth century the Orthodox Church has commemorated Palamas? Previous Roman editions of the Greek service books had omitted the office in his honour, and even in the aftermath of Vatican II there were still many at Rome who wished to continue this policy. But other liturgists, especially among the Melkite's and at the Greek College of St Athanasius in Rome, favoured the inclusion of Palamas in the new *Anthologion*. The venerable Fr Hausherr was consulted, and he gave the answer: Let the office be included. His great authority was decisive in carrying the day. So for the first time the service in honour of St Gregory Palamas appeared, with the blessing of the Vatican, in a liturgical book intended not merely for study but for practical use. Admittedly the office is relegated to an appendix, but none the less it is there.

Fr Hausherr's love of Eastern Christendom is plainly apparent in the book under review, *The Name of Jesus*. Typical of his approach are the words he uses in the preface: 'One thing which I hope will be evident to everyone is that I feel a deep and sincere sympathy for every human effort to pursue peace and union with God through pure and continual prayer' (p.ii). And at the end of his elaborate analysis of the sources he concludes: 'The Jesus Prayer is a superb formula of prayer. In it meet two elements of the highest importance: adoration and compunction' (p.325). These words sum up the spirit that inspires the book as a whole. In structure it falls into two parts, somewhat different in character. The first (pp.3-116) discusses the various names by which our Lord is addressed from the New Testament up to St Isaac the Syrian in the late seventh century. The second part (pp.119-347) traces the history of the Jesus Prayer from its origins in fourth-century Egyptian monasticism up to its contemporary use. Although there are occasional comparisons with the West, the book is primarily a study of the Eastern Christian tradition, Greek, Syriac and Slav. Surprisingly the Coptic evidence is ignored. There is no discussion of non-Christian parallels in Yoga, Zen Buddhism and Sufism.

Hausherr and Gillet

The reader of Fr Hausherr's book will naturally compare it in his mind with the other general account of the history of the Jesus Prayer, written at a slightly earlier date by Fr Lev Gillet (1892-1980): 'Un Moine de l'Eglise d'Orient', *La Prière de Jésus* (3rd edition, Chevetogne 1959), published in English as 'A Monk of the Eastern Church', *The Prayer of Jesus*, translated by a Monk of the Western Church (New York/Tournai: Desclée 1967). Incidentally, I hope that some enterprising British publisher will reissue the English translation of this book: the 1967 edition is out of print, and in any case it was never publicized in this country or made available through most booksellers. It remains a great rarity: so far as I can discover, not a single library in Oxford possessed a copy of it until last year. My own copy was picked up on a visit to California.

The two books are very different in scale: Fr Lev's contains only about 27,000 words in the English translation, while Fr Hausherr's is nearly five times as long, running to about 125,000 words. As an introductory account for the non-academic reader, Fr Lev's work is obviously the more suitable: beautifully written, it possesses a clarity, simplicity and coherence lacking in the more diffuse treatment of Fr Hausherr. But, not surprisingly, Fr Hausherr's account is by far the more complete: Fr Lev, for example, makes no reference at all to the earliest author to speak in a specific manner about the continual invocation of Jesus, St Nilus of Ancyra (died c.430), whereas Fr Hausherr carefully cites all the relevant passages in Nilus (p.212). Fr Hausherr also corrects Fr Lev over many points of dating and authorship. Any serious student of Eastern spirituality will certainly wish to read both works.

The two authors differ significantly in their historical conclusions. Fr Lev considers that the Invocation of the Name originated with the use of the single word 'Jesus', which was subsequently expanded into a longer phrase. Fr Hausherr challenges this: 'The Jesus Prayer did not begin with the name of Jesus. It had its beginnings in *penthos*, in mourning, in sorrow for sin [...]. For the developed formula ['Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me'], at least as regards its substance, we have many pages of documentary evidence; for the use of the name alone we have very few witnesses; formally we have nothing at all' (p.104). In Fr Hausherr's view the 'developed formula' represents not so much an expansion as an abbreviation, a concentration into one short phrase of the quintessence of the monastic spirituality of *penthos*. It has to be acknowledged that all the evidence favours his standpoint rather than Fr Lev's.

Another point of substance over which the two books differ concerns the notion of 'Sinaite spirituality'. Fr Lev, drawing on what Fr Hausherr had himself written in his early work *La méthode d'oraison hésychaste* (1927), distinguishes between a 'Sinaite stage' (fifth to seventh century) and an 'Athonite stage' (fourteenth century) in the development of the Jesus Prayer. But Fr Hausherr, by the time he came to write *The Name of Jesus* — and, indeed, long before that, as early as 1934 — had changed his mind on this subject. The early evolution of the Jesus Prayer, so he argues in *The Name of Jesus*, is not connected in any decisive fashion with Sinai; the very conception of a distinctively 'Sinaite stage' is artificial and misleading. The sources of the Jesus Prayer lie in the spirituality of the Desert Fathers of Egypt (especially the Apophthegmata), while the earliest explicit witnesses are scattered over a wide area — Asia Minor (Nilus), North Greece (Diadochus), and Palestine (Barsanuphius and John, Dorotheus). 'The monks of Sinai played the role of transmitting rather than originating. Their spirituality came to them from Egypt and Palestine [...]. Sinaitic spirituality is simply a subdivision of hesychast spirituality in general, and as such it has only a limited importance' (pp.279-80). Once more Fr Hausherr is surely correct.

But over other points his treatment of the evidence is open to question. He takes an unduly 'reductionist' view of some of the early testimonies, arguing that Nilus (p.212) and Diadochus (pp.224-6) had in mind the 'memory' or remembrance of

Jesus in a general sense, rather than the actual invocation of Jesus through a specific formula of prayer. Here his interpretation of the material is sometimes one-sided or forced. Both Nilus and Diadochus make use of the term 'invocation' (*epiklesis*) as well as 'remembrance' (*mneme*), and Diadochus employs the significant phrase *to Kyrie Iesou*, 'the O Lord Jesus', which strongly suggests that he had in view a particular form of words addressed to Christ, and beginning 'Lord Jesus . . .'. The same 'reductionism' can be found in Fr Hausherr's treatment of Climacus (pp.280-6).

But even where his conclusions may be disputed, Fr Hausherr is always perceptive and well informed. We must be grateful to Cistercian Publications for making this fine book available in English. But unfortunately the English edition has serious defects. The translation is not always accurate, and there is no index of any kind. Whereas the French reader is provided in the original edition with an eight-page index in three sections (proper names, Greek terms, other words), the English reader is deprived of all such aids. It is highly inconvenient, not to say scandalous, that a major work of scholarship should be published without this essential tool of reference.

Bibliography of recent works

The bibliography in the English translation contains some curious errors: in particular, a line of type has dropped out on p.355, with the result that the *Philokalia* is attributed to 'Philo Jurdaeus' (*sic*). Sporadic and rather unsatisfactory efforts have been made to adapt the bibliography for the English reader, but there has been no systematic attempt to bring it up to date. It may be useful, then, to provide a list — by no means exhaustive — of studies on the Jesus Prayer published during 1960-80:

- Abhishiktananda (Henri le Saux, OSB), *Prayer* (London 1967), pp.51-8.
 P. Adnès, 'Le garde du coeur', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 6 (1965), cols. 100-17.
 —, 'Jésus (Prière à)', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, 8 (1974), cols. 1126-50 (most useful: a brief but detailed survey of the historical evidence).
 J. Barr, 'The Symbolism of Names in the Old Testament', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 52, 1 (Autumn 1969), pp.11-29.
 Anthony Bloom, Metropolitan of Sourozh, *Living Prayer* (London 1966), pp.84-8.
 —, Introduction to *The Way of a Pilgrim*, translated by R.M. French (London 1972), pp.vi-xi.
 Chariton of Valamo, Igumen, *The Art of Prayer*, edited with an introduction by Timothy [Kallistos] Ware (London 1966), pp.16-37, 75-123.
 Neville Clark, 'The Jesus Prayer: Its History and Meaning', *Sobornost* 7:3 (1976), pp.148-65.
 O. Clément, 'A Note on Prayer in Eastern Christianity', *Cistercian Studies* ix, 2-3 (1974), pp.185-91.
 J.-A. Cuttat, *The Encounter of Religions. A dialogue between the West and the Orient with an Essay on the Prayer of Jesus* (New York/Tournai 1960).
 J.A. Goodall, 'The Invocation of the Name of Jesus in the English XIVth Century Spiritual Writers', *Chrysostom* iii, 5 (1972), pp.113-17.
 J. Gouillard, 'A Note on the Prayer of the Heart', in J.M. Déchanet, *Christian Yoga* (Perennial Library, New York 1972), pp.217-30.
 J.A. Grassi, 'Christian Mantras: the Rediscovery and Power of an ancient Approach to inner Christian Transformation', *Worship* xlix, 9 (November 1975), pp.530-42.

- A. Guillaumont, 'Une inscription copte sur la "Prière de Jésus"', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 34 (1968), pp.310-25.
 —, 'The Jesus Prayer among the Monks of Egypt', *Eastern Churches Review* vi (1974), pp.66-71 (these two articles present important evidence from Coptic excavations undertaken subsequent to Hausherr's book).
 G.A. Maloney, *Russian Hesychasm. The Spirituality of Nil Sorskij* (The Hague/Paris 1973), pp.134-44, 269-79.
 Mother Maria, *The Jesus Prayer: The Meeting of East and West in the Prayer of the Heart* (Greek Orthodox Monastery of the Assumption, Filgrave [now at Normanby, Whitby, N. Yorkshire] 1972).
 J.O. Meany and M. Carey, 'Psychology and "The Prayer of the Heart"', *Review for Religious* 29 (1970), pp.818-26.
 Jules Monchanin, 'Yoga and Hesychasm', *Cistercian Studies* x, 2 (1975), pp.85-92.
 F. Neyt 'The Prayer of Jesus', *Sobornost* 6:9 (1974) pp.641-54 (on Barsanuphius and John).
 I. Noye, 'Jésus (Nom de)', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 8 (1974), cols. 1109-26 (contains a short analysis of the Western evidence).
 A Priest of the Byzantine Church, *Reflections on the Jesus Prayer* (Dimension Books, Denville, NJ 1978).
 L. Regnault, 'La prière continue "monologisme" dans la littérature apophtegmatique', *Irénikon* xlvii, 4 (1974), pp.467-93 (very important: on the fourth-century Egyptian background).
 E.J. Ryan, 'The Invocation of the Divine Name in Sinaite Spirituality', *Eastern Churches Quarterly* xiv (1961-2), pp.241-9, 291-9 (see also the same author's unpublished D.Phil. dissertation in the Bodleian).
 Linda Sabbath, *The Radiant Heart*, with a foreword by G.A. Maloney (Dimension Books, Denville, NJ 1977) (recommends techniques of breathing and inward exploration; highly dangerous).
 Gershom Scholem, 'Jerusalem: Der Name Gottes und die Sprachtheorie der Kabbala', in *Man and Speech*, Eranos-Jahrbuch 1970 (1973).
 E. Simonod, *La Prière de Jésus selon l'évêque Ignace Brianchaninoff (1807-1867)* (Paris 1976).
 P.O. Sjögren, *The Jesus Prayer* (London 1975) (by a Swedish Lutheran who is dean of Gothenberg Cathedral).
 Archimandrite Sophrony, *His Life is Mine* (London/Oxford 1977), pp.99-128.
 A.C. Thiselton, 'The supposed Power of Words in the Biblical Writings', *Journal of Theological Studies* 25 (1974), pp.283-99.
 Kallistos T. Ware, 'Pray Without Ceasing': The Ideal of Continual Prayer in Eastern Monasticism', *Eastern Churches Review* ii (1969), pp.253-61.
 —, 'The Jesus Prayer in St Gregory of Sinai', *Eastern Churches Review* iv (1972), pp.3-22.
 —, 'The Jesus Prayer and the Mother of God', *Eastern Churches Review* iv (1972), pp.149-50.
 —, *The Power of the Name: the Jesus Prayer in Orthodox Spirituality* (Fairacres Publication 43: Oxford 1974).

None of these books and articles, however, attempts a general study of the history of the Jesus Prayer, on a scale comparable to Fr Hausherr's *The Name of Jesus*. After twenty years his work still remains, together with that of Fr Lev, unquestionably the basic and indispensable treatment of the subject. *The Name of Jesus* is a rich mine of information, to which every student of Orthodox spirituality will wish to return again and again. The English translation is very welcome despite its shortcomings, some of which can perhaps be corrected in a second edition.

La spiritualité de l'orient chrétien: manuel systematique by Thomas Špidlík SJ (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum 1978 (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* No. 206) pp.xi + 436, £14.20).

Fr Špidlík, who teaches at the Pontifical Institute for Oriental Studies in Rome, is already well known to scholars for a series of monographs, all of which have appeared in the same learned series. The first was a study of St Joseph of Volokolamsk (*OCA* 146, Rome 1956), particularly welcome as this remarkable figure of Russian monastic history has generally been depicted by modern Orthodox authors in unsympathetic terms. In fact he is certainly a very great spiritual master, so great that, as a Russian bishop told me recently, the Russian Church will never recover the best of the so-called 'Old Believers' until it has fully acknowledged the positive values of his example and teaching. Very rich also, though perhaps to the point of being overcrowded with comparisons and discussions, is Fr Špidlík's volume on Theophan the Recluse (*OCA* 172, Rome 1965); equally valuable is his essay on St Gregory Nazianzen (*OCA* 189, Rome 1971). The best of these Russian or Greek patristic studies, however, is the volume on what he calls the 'sophiology' of St Basil (*OCA* 162, Rome 1961). This would be enough to commend the present manual. However, we must add that a first-rate scholar like Fr Hausherr, finding himself unable to complete the footnotes of his own masterpiece¹ because of failing eyesight, did not hesitate to avail himself of the assistance of his younger confrère.

After an introductory chapter on the sources Fr Špidlík studies the Eastern view of the life in God in its fundamentally trinitarian character: a life *in* the Spirit, *by* or *through* Jesus Christ, tending *to* the Father. He then comes to the subjective aspects of the same life, passing from the image of God in man to man's nature, then to progress in the spiritual life (from image to likeness), touching finally on the most delicate problem of the consciousness of grace. This basic disquisition is next placed successively within the context of what he calls spiritual anthropology, cosmology and sociology. We then come to the negative *praxis*, culminating in that *penthos* which Fr Hausherr again has so admirably analysed. This is completed by a treatment of the themes of the flight from the world, the spiritual warfare, and the purification of the passions leading to *apatheia*, the true meaning of which in the best of the monastic tradition is here better disengaged from all its possible caricatures than in any other book of this kind. We then come to the positive *praxis*: the acquisition of virtue (or virtues) leading to the fulness of charity. The book concludes with two chapters, remarkable for their clarity and soundness, on prayer in general and on contemplation.

This short summary can at least give some idea of the all-inclusive and organic character of the present work. For the first-hand quality of its documentation, no

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1. *Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison* (*OCA* 157, Rome 1960), reviewed above.

less extensive with regard to modern (mainly Russian) developments than with regard to the patristic sources, and for the consistent balance and honesty of its judgments it may be said to have no equal. One can only regret that the author has sometimes paid too much attention to recent vulgarizations, more journalistic than theological or scholarly. (I am thinking especially of some contemporary writers on whom the best Russian expert in that field today, Archbishop Basil Krivocheine, has justly been much more severe.) But this is itself an indication of the author's gentleness and sympathy, which bring to his work a welcome touch of Christian humanity. More serious might be the reproach that he tends at times towards rather diffusive generalities. One particular omission is all the more strange on his part in view of the awareness which he has shown elsewhere (especially in his study of Joseph of Volokolamsk) of the importance of the theme in the Christian East: one would have expected in such a handbook as this a study of the equivalent in Orthodox spirituality of that which Dom Jean Leclercq has so well described in the West, the *lectio divina*. More attention could also have been paid to Byzantine commentaries on the Liturgy from Germanus of Constantinople to Nicholas Cabasilas.

In conclusion let me stress that when one has read this book nothing remains in one's mind of superficial oppositions such as that between 'the spirituality of the cross' and 'the spirituality of the resurrection', or between 'the imitation of Christ' and 'the life in Christ'. This volume is ecumenical in the best possible sense; and even better, it is fundamentally honest and well grounded in the whole tradition, not merely in some excerpts taken out of context.

L. BOUYER

Understanding Eastern Christianity by George Every, with an introduction by A.M. Mundadan (Bangalore: Dharmaram Publications 1978, and London: SCM Press 1980, pp.xxiv + 136, £3.25).

George Every's *Byzantine Patriarchate* is still after thirty years the standard survey of the Greek Church up to the Latin sack of Constantinople. In the present book, a series of lectures delivered in Rome in 1977, he shifts the focus of his attention further east, the Eastern Christianity which he invites us to understand being primarily that of the non-Chalcedonian Churches of Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia. The author's method is thoroughly historical. If we are to gain any understanding of the various Christian communities of the Near East, we must know something of the political and theological factors which came to give each a separate identity.

The first chapter is on the spread of Christianity eastwards in the first few centuries by means of merchants, monks and missionaries moving along the trade routes overland to China and by sea to India. We then come to the expansion of the

Church in Egypt. The declared aim of this chapter is to explain how the Church spread from Alexandria into the Egyptian countryside: but as very little is known about this we soon become engrossed in an exciting story of ecclesiastical politics as we follow the fortunes of Athanasius in his war against the Arians on one side and the hard-line Meletians on the other. The next subject is the origin of the distinctive Alexandrian and Antiochene approaches to theology. There is a long discussion of divine kingship in ancient Egypt which Every seeks to connect with the Alexandrian predilection for speculative and allegorical interpretations of Scripture. Similarly, he would connect the Babylonian idea of linear progress from empire to empire with the Antiochene preference for a historical approach to Scripture. I find this section the least convincing in the book. In Egypt at least it is striking how completely the Christians severed themselves from their pagan past. I am sure Every is on safer ground when he touches on the influence of the different Jewish schools of biblical exegesis in Babylon and Alexandria.

Two excellent chapters follow on the Monophysite and Dyothelite controversies. These are the controversies concerning the nature of Christ which led to the schism between the Oriental Churches and the rest of the Christian world. Every shows how these disputes 'arise out of real tensions between orthodox traditions' and guides us skilfully through the complicated struggle to find a formula which neither side could suspect of heretical leanings. We then come to an account of Christians under Muslim rule, which contains an interesting discussion of the importance of Syriac in transmitting Aristotle to the Arabs. The disastrous effect of the Crusades on relations between Muslim masters and native Christian subjects is treated next. The final chapter is on how the different ethnic and religious groups came to acquire rights in Jerusalem. This is a fascinating story, and one that will be entirely new to most readers. The rights of several groups go back to the earliest times, the Armenians, for example, enjoying an established position in Jerusalem from at least the sixth century.

The book concludes with an appendix entitled 'Rome and the Christian East' which is in the nature of an apologia for the author's conversion from the Anglican to the Roman Catholic Church in 1973. Dr Henry Chadwick commented to the author on the difficulty which he would have in removing objections to the Roman claims if he were to undertake a new revision of *The Byzantine Patriarchate*. But Every does not believe that he has changed his views on the history of the schism between East and West. His conversion was not through his Eastern studies but because Catholics were 'quicker in learning the lessons of the [religious, social and political changes of the fifties and sixties] than Anglicans and Protestants' (p.123). In any case, to become a Catholic does not imply an uncritical acceptance of all Rome's claims and actions in the past. On the question of unity with the East the author is sanguine but realistic:

The Eastern schisms happened gradually, through a series of misunderstandings about terms, and they will be healed gradually as Rome comes to under-

stand that she cannot impose her kind of Latin scholasticism as the only standard whereby orthodoxy can be judged. This involves a new look at theological differences between East and West, as well as those approaches to the incarnation that used to be called Antiochene and Alexandrian, but might better be called Babylonian and Egyptian, or East and West Syrian [p.125].

George Every has provided us with some useful materials and judgments to help us look again at these theological differences; he has written a very stimulating book.

NORMAN RUSSELL

Households of God: The Rule of St Benedict with explanations for Monks and Lay-people by David Parry (London: Darton, Longman & Todd 1980, pp.xviii + 199, £4.50).

Every Christian, by reason of his baptism into Christ, is called to a share in the very life of God himself. Following in the footsteps of the great and eternal High-Priest who is at the same time the victim offered for our sins, each must engage in the life-long struggle against sin and self which, with the grace of God, will lead us to a full participation in the life of the Resurrection. The monk, in a very special way, is chosen to be a sign, a precursor of this vocation which is offered to the believer. The monastic vocation, hidden as it must be by reason of its very nature, is nevertheless a perennial witness to the world of the reality of the life of faith, and is perhaps one of the most important bridges between a divided East and West in the Christian tradition. The figure of the patriarch Benedict, heir of the Fathers of the Desert and Father of monastic life in the West is a fitting symbol for the hope of unity between the two great Churches. This year is being observed as the fifteenth centenary of his birth and it is suitable, therefore, that a new translation of the Holy Rule with commentary has been produced by one of his own sons, and which moreover attempts to present this testament of a great spiritual teacher to an audience wider than the immediate monastic context. Abbot Parry is to be congratulated on the skill and delicacy which he has brought to his task.

In making such a venerable work more accessible by making use of a more modern idiom than is usual, there is always the danger of a certain dissonance of register, rather akin to the shock experienced by many in the unhappy attempts of many religious in the West to modernise their distinctive habits. On the whole, Abbot David has avoided this pitfall remarkably well, though occasionally there are lapses which strike one all the more since they are mercifully rather rare. His reference to the life of a monastery as an 'alternative society', while making an appeal to a certain range and age of reader, seems unnecessarily limiting in its contemporaneity. This is true too in what I can only describe as the jargon of the Charismatic Movement which creeps occasionally into the commentary though not into the text itself.

Coming afresh to the Rule of St Benedict, which was after all the typicon of a living monastic community, one is struck again by the remarkable blend of the practicality of his Romanitas and the undiluted call to ascetic endeavour, which, through Cassian, is the legacy of the ancient Eastern tradition. Chapter iv, with its list of 'the tools of good works' breathes the very spirit of the Thebaid, as do the chapters dealing with the essential monastic virtues of humility, obedience and silence.

The commentary does not claim to be a scholarly one, and indeed one is grateful to be spared the sorties into extreme archeologisms of some of the earlier modern commentaries. But occasionally one finds oneself wanting just a little more historical background than Abbot David actually provides. This is a minor criticism, however, in a work which is a fitting memorial for this Benedictine year. It is also a challenge not only to the monk or nun, but to every Christian to take more seriously the call to perfection.

RONALD CREIGHTON-JOBE

The Future of Coptic Studies edited by R. McL. Wilson (Leiden: E.J. Brill 1978, pp.xii + 254, Gld. 140).

In December 1976 the first International Congress of Coptology was held in Cairo under the joint auspices of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation and UNESCO. The present book contains the text of twelve of the reports presented there, in English, German or French, as well as precise indications where the text of the other twenty five communications may be found (vol. xiv of the *Nag Hammadi Studies* Monograph Series). The reports are highly specialized and it would be meaningless to mention all of them. The book is certainly required reading for anyone engaged in Coptic studies.

One important discovery is presented, however, which will be of paramount importance to students of monastic history. I refer to Antoine Guillaumont's and Rudolph Kasser's reports on their finding of the exact location of Cellia on 20 March 1964 and their subsequent excavation of the site. Cellia, Nitria and Scetis constitute the most important centres of early monasticism in Lower Egypt. Since 1935 the prevailing opinion, at least in the French-speaking world, has located Cellia to the west of the Wadi Natrun. The discovery of Guillaumont and Kasser vindicates the view of H. Evelyn White, who placed Scetis in the Wadi Natrun, Nitria on the edge of the delta to the north-west, and Cellia on the track connecting the two. The remains of Cellia are spread throughout a large area of about 4 by 2 kilometres with more than six hundred tells. A large convent of about 60 by 40 metres has been unearthed, containing fifty-eight rooms, which represents the last state of the place in about 739 when the monastic life there had evolved towards

a semi-cenobitic regime. Around and under it have been found relics of the earlier eremitic settlement. By an extraordinary piece of good luck the exact location of the *ekklesia kellion* has also been found. This was the church of the settlement where from the fourth century the solitaries gathered for the Sunday Liturgy. Of equal importance is the discovery of the track between Scetis and Nitria which passed through Cellia. It is one thing to imagine the ancient setting of monastic life with the help of texts. It is another (and how moving!) to be able to locate it on the ground.

J. M. HORNUS

Saint Symeon the New Theologian: The Sin of Adam (Platina, California: Saint Hermann of Alaska Brotherhood 1979, pp.86, \$3).

Beware of anyone who claims fully to understand sin; the meaning of sin eludes us because it lacks intelligibility, it is essentially disordered. St Symeon's account of the sin of Adam has many of the strengths generally associated with Orthodox theology on this point. The emphasis falls on the process of growth, and within that of frustration and decay. Unfallen men would have been immortal and incorrupt, strangers to sin and cares, and in time would have ascended into the most perfect glory. Firmly Trinitarian, St Symeon does not limit his account of our redemption to Christ's passion and death, but notes how Christ's whole life, from conception through childhood to maturity, is salvific and can be participated in by us. We can also profit from his characteristically Orthodox stress on the activity of the Holy Spirit (even now recasting, renewing and sanctifying the whole human person), as well as from the central proclamation of the resurrection and cosmic renewal. We are made gods by grace.

These seven beautiful, scriptural homilies, subtle and imaginative, are here rendered into English from the 1892 Russian translation of Bishop Theophan the Recluse, and accompanied by a life of St Symeon (d.1022) drawn from various old sources. The anonymous compiler(s) of this volume should have forgone the aggressive and polemical preface, using that space to expand the hardly adequate theological introduction. For example, in view of the widespread modern Orthodox assertion that there is no inherited guilt, the reader needs to know how typical of Orthodoxy, and of St Symeon, is his explanation that the biblical injunction to call no one sinless except God, even though he has lived only one day on earth, does not refer to those who sin personally. For how can a one day old child sin? Rather, continues the homily, human nature is sinful from its very conception and all people who come from the seed of Adam are participants of the ancestral sin. He who has been born in this way, even though he has not yet performed any sin, is already sinful. Again, the reader might like some explanation of how Jesus Christ

offered himself in the flesh as a sacrifice to the divinity of the Father, and of the Son himself, and of the Holy Spirit.

Finally, even leaving aside doubts about the reliability of the text or the wisdom of translating from a translation, many readers (especially of a publication hoping for a wide, non-specialist circulation) are unlikely to penetrate, without the help of paraphrase or gloss, such phrases as 'mental Paradise' or 'noetic world' or 'mental death'.

ROBERT OMBRES

La Critica Bizantina del Primato Romano nel secolo XII by Jannis Spiteris OFM Cap. (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum 1979 (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, No. 208) pp.xxiv + 336, £9.40).

To provide a basis of comparison against which to assess later developments, the author very wisely starts his book with an outline of Greek and Latin opinions about the papacy in the first nine centuries of the Church's existence, and draws attention to the theologico-political philosophy that, started by Eusebius's encomium of Constantine the Great, continued as a basis of all oriental Christian thinking up to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. By that philosophy Church and State were two facets of the one Roman Empire, the people of God, over which ruled the Byzantine emperor, God's representative on earth.

The body of the book consists of an examination of all the documents of the twelfth century that treat of the 'Roman Question'. The author indicates their background, with generous quotations describes their contents and usually also adds an analysis to clarify the argumentation. Most of the documents were occasioned by political circumstances, such as the presence of a Latin ambassador in Constantinople or the proposal by an emperor to a pope of Church union as a counterpart to political union. The texts contain other items of controversy besides the papacy, but the author with admirable restraint confines his treatment solely to the subject of his book. On both the Latin and the Greek side opinion about authority in the Church and in particular on the papacy underwent modification as time went on and as new circumstances, like the reform of Gregory VII, arose.

The Greek writers of the twelfth century inherited a tradition of antipapal argumentation. They retained it and developed it, and naturally they tended to repeat over and over again the same arguments. The pope was said by the Latins to be the head of the Church: the Greeks asserted that Christ is the only head and denied that he ever appointed a head on earth; if Peter was a sort of head among the apostles, that was a personal office which ceased with his death; had the headship been heritable, Antioch, his first 'See', would have been the heir, not Rome; indeed Jerusalem has the best of all claims: in any case, Peter probably never was bishop of

Rome since the early lists name Linus as the first bishop; the scriptural texts used by the Latins to prove a petrine headship refer only to his faith and, in any case, all the apostles received whatever power and authority Peter received. There is no place in the Church for a 'monarchy': collegiality was the norm; all the apostles were equal in every way and all bishops are equal. In practice the five patriarchs wield authority, all five equal, but Rome could have a certain pre-eminence according to some authors, though according to others it had lost that pre-eminence by its schism, or even (according to still others) it had lost its patriarchal dignity altogether on account of its heresy.

The Latins called the Roman Church *mater et caput omnium ecclesiarum*. The Greeks could not understand what this might mean and rejected every inference of dependence and still more of derivation. The Latins named their Church 'catholic': the Greeks marvelled how a part could be the whole, for catholic means 'universal'. The Roman pope was said to be the *apostolikos*: the oriental argued that other Churches were founded by apostles, that all patriarchs were *apostolikai*, that all bishops are *apostolikai*. Whatever pre-eminence the Roman See at one time may have had derived from its being the place of residence of the emperor to whom supreme authority belonged, and Constantine, when he founded the New Rome, transferred to it with the civil government also all authority and privilege whatsoever, including the ecclesiastical.

Not all of these points are discussed by all authors, nor are they all stressed to the same degree. They derive from the writings of Byzantine patriarchs, ecclesiastics and laymen, all of whom were closely connected with the imperial court and all, therefore, were deeply imbued with the theologico-political philosophy, pagan in its roots, which entered the Christian world with Constantine the Great. In the Eastern Church that philosophy was the ever-present background of both religious and political thought. Supreme authority was the prerogative of the emperor alone. An independent authority belonging to any other individual was unthinkable, whether he was a pope or a patriarch of Constantinople or anyone else. What authority there might be in the Church could belong only to a 'moral group', like the group of five patriarchs, an institution based not on biblico-theological, but on theological-political, grounds. Such is the conclusion of the author of this book (p.319). The foundation, then, of Constantinople was the most fateful event in the history of the Christian Church.

The twelfth century is a period in the history of the Byzantine Church that has hitherto been neglected. The names of many outstanding writers were known, but there was little information to illustrate the persons behind them. This book sets them in the context of their political history and evaluates their importance in the ecclesiastical controversy about the papacy. It is an excellent book, clear in exposition, balanced in judgment and thorough in its treatment, indispensable for anyone studying the ecclesiastical history of the twelfth century.

J. GILL

Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198-1400 by Joseph Gill SJ (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press 1979, pp.xii + 342, \$23.50).

Although scholars still disagree about the date of the final schism between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, there is general consensus that it became permanent as a result of the Fourth Crusade of 1204. Formal union between the two Churches was last achieved at the Council of Florence in 1439 but failed to command the support of the mass of Orthodox faithful. Fr Gill published a definitive history of that Council in 1961, but the reasons for the Orthodox rejection of the union are to be found in the history of papal-Orthodox relations in the two centuries preceding the Council. A number of important monographs have been written on particular aspects of that period in recent years, notably Roberg's book on the Second Council of Lyons, and numerous articles by Professor D.M. Nicol and by Fr Gill himself. Yet no general treatment of this subject has appeared since Norden's *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* in 1903, since when a great deal of work has been done both on the late medieval papacy and on the late Byzantine Empire. Fr Gill has now produced a much-needed study which interprets ecclesiastical relations between Rome and Constantinople in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the light of recent research into the secular history of that period.

He rightly places ecclesiastical relations in their political context, since political considerations were dominant in all negotiations between Rome and Constantinople at that time. Byzantium sought Western military aid against the Turks and offered to secure church unity in return, while the popes demanded unity as a necessary pre-condition for organising help for the Eastern Empire. The history of the Eastern Mediterranean world in this period is extremely complex, for the weakening of Byzantine power by the Fourth Crusade brought about political fragmentation in the Balkans, Greece and the Greek islands. Fr Gill has marshalled this bewildering mass of evidence, and, without attempting to simplify it, has constructed it into a coherent picture. Readers unfamiliar with this subject will find this account lucid and straightforward, but only those who have attempted to teach late Byzantine history will fully appreciate what a *tour de force* the author has achieved to produce this result.

Fr Gill's treatment of the ecclesiastical issues is refreshingly impartial. He is not uncritical of the papacy:

Innocent [III] saw union too much as a jurist. Fulfilment of the canons — the external adherence to set forms — was made to be the essence of unity, seemingly without regard to the inner spirit [p.45].

He can be equally critical of the Orthodox, but he can also deal sympathetically with movement like Hesychasm whose supporters were strongly opposed to union with Rome. Consider his presentation of the teachings of St Gregory Palamas:

The Light of Thabor is one of the divine energies. It is the beauty of God, deifying grace, that makes men participants in the divinity; it is eternal and uncreated, and reaches men's souls directly, though in different degrees according to the capacity of each [p.204].

Fr Gill shows that the obstacles to union were not primarily theological: that range of differences had been recognised since the time of Photius and, given mutual goodwill, accommodation between the Latin and Orthodox traditions had been found possible on all the controversial issues. The new problems which arose in the later Middle Ages were twofold: first the papacy claimed that all authority in the Church derived from Christ its head through his vicar, the pope, which the Orthodox were unable to accept; the other problem was explained to Pope Benedict XII by a Byzantine envoy in this way:

It is not so much difference of doctrine that divides . . . the Greeks from you as the hatred . . . that has entered their souls from the many great evils that . . . the Greeks have suffered from the Latins and still suffer every day [p.147].

Current political issues compounded past evils, keeping resentment alive among the Orthodox and rendering papal gestures of goodwill ineffectual because the political enemies of Byzantium often claimed, without warrant sometimes, to be acting in the pope's name. Thus in the early years of the fourteenth century the infamous Catalan Company regarded themselves as crusaders and flew the papal flag over the fortress of Gallipoli where they had stored the treasures which they had looted from the Byzantine Empire.

Such incidents did not generate an atmosphere in which mutual tolerance could grow. A widespread antipathy to the Latin Church came to dominate the Orthodox world, while the papacy became more rigorist in its attitude towards the Eastern Churches. After the marriage of Anne of Savoy to Andronicus III in 1326, for example, no Catholic princess was granted a dispensation by the pope to marry a 'schismatic' Greek.

Both sides lost as a result of this antipathy. The thirteenth century was a period of great intellectual activity in the Western Church, yet only a handful of pro-Latins in the Orthodox world appreciated this, men like Demetrius Cydones who translated the major works of St Thomas Aquinas into Greek. Conversely, the fourteenth century was an age of intense vitality in the Byzantine Church, yet the Latin Church, so far as I am aware, was totally unaffected at that time by the spirituality of St Gregory Palamas.

This book, scholarly, temperate, thorough and full of shrewd insights into contentious and complex issues, is essential reading for students and scholars dealing with the field of relations between the Eastern and Western Churches and, indeed, the related field of late Byzantine history; but it should also be taken seriously by all people who are concerned to understand how the schism between the Roman Church and her sister-churches in the East became final.

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Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium by Donald M. Nicol (Cambridge: University Press 1979, pp.x + 162, £9.75).

In these Birkbeck lectures, given at Cambridge in 1977, Professor Nicol keeps close to his original authorities. In an important matter he asks the right questions, and finds no answer in them. The Zealot revolution in Thessalonica and Thrace cannot be explained in terms of modern revolutions. The Byzantine lettered class wrote of it in terms of *stasis*, of factional strife, as John Cantacuzene described the Black Death in the words of Thucydides on the plague at Athens. In tensions between this classical textual scholarship and the apophatic theology of Mount Athos Professor Nicol understands the theology of repetition, sticking closely to patristic expressions, better than monastic spirituality, but he recognises the place of holy fools in Byzantine society and treats the Hesychasts with respect, not contempt. It may be that he exaggerates their antipathy to scholasticism, and misses the possibility of an overlap between new spiritual explorations and some curiosity about the meaning of winds blowing from the West, but it is clear that in the period under review, from the Fourth Crusade to the final fall of the city to the Turks in 1453, the Franks were reckoned outside the civilized world in the *oecumene*, the *basileia*, the Roman Empire. There was room for disagreement as to how far they might have fallen into heresy, but they were another, a rival community. So were the Turks, with this difference, that Muslims had rules for co-existence with their Christian subjects, while Franks desired to incorporate them into their community on terms laid down by the papacy.

Some of them were indeed prepared to learn from the Byzantines. I think it unfortunate that Professor Nicol (on p.91) quotes the *Opus Tripartitum* of Humbertus de Romanis from the text discovered by Mabillon and printed by Mansi, and not from the fuller text published, without any author's name, by Crabbe in the second volume of his *Concilia* (Cologne 1551). I have given reasons elsewhere (*ECR* v.2 [1973]) for thinking that the conclusion cited by Professor Nicol may be an interpolation made in the fourteenth century, when the gulf between East and West was deeper than in 1274 and again at Ferrara and Florence in 1438-9. The point is important in considering the intentions of those who incorporated the *Filioque* into a formal definition to be accepted by the East as a condition of union, as distinct from polemical interpretations that came to be read into this on both sides. When William Adam, another Dominican, wished to burn 'all Greek books, ancient or modern, which did not accord with Roman doctrine', it is not surprising that the Byzantines should consider the Franks to be as heretical as the Armenians, and in practice more difficult to deal with than the Turks.

The last point however was not so clear in the fourteenth century when the pressure on Greeks in Turkish territory was very severe, so that Anatolia became substantially a Muslim country. It would be interesting to compare conditions there

with those that favoured Islam then and thereafter in some parts of Turkey in Europe, but not in others. Where the ability to fight is a condition for survival the Christians retained this ability only at a distance from the line of battle on the frontiers: in Lebanon, but not in Bosnia or Albania. Disarmed, they were easy victims in local feuds.

Professor Nicol notes instances of Genoese who abjured their Latin errors and became Orthodox for business reasons. It may be that this was an advantage to them not only among Greek Christians but in Muslim lands where Crusaders were hated and feared. These lectures are full of good starting-points for further enquiries.

GEORGE EVERY

Church, World, Mission: Reflections on Orthodoxy in the West by Alexander Schmemmann (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1979, pp.228, £3.25).

This book, which is a noteworthy example of the high standard of creative theological thinking which is currently being done at St Vladimir's Seminary, has an importance greater than the occasional character of its contents might suggest. The articles which it includes were written by Fr Schmemmann over a period of more than twenty years, but they are all in one way or another dominated by what he describes, in his introductory chapter, as 'the Underlying Question' of the contemporary crisis in the Orthodox Church. That crisis he sees as unique in its character in the Church's history and as more serious than either the fall of Byzantium in 1453 or the present-day persecution behind the iron curtain, for he sees it as due to a perversion of the thought and life of the Church itself so radical that the Church's members, including their leaders, are largely unconscious of it and therefore complacent about it. Thus, he writes, what worries him is not the crisis itself and the corresponding tension between the Church and the world, but 'the *absence* of such a tension from today's Orthodox consciousness, our seeming inability to understand the real meaning of the crisis, to face it and to seek ways of dealing with it' (p.10). Paradoxically, it is just where the Orthodox should be most conscious of the crisis that they are in fact least conscious of it, for it is there that they have been most corroded by it.

I will not attempt to assess in detail Fr Schmemmann's diagnoses of the crisis and I am not sure that they are entirely consistent with one another. The basic enemy, he alleges, is secularism, and its early conquest of the Western Church led to the split between East and West. On the other hand, one of the worst diseases which has smitten the Orthodox Church has been that of its own westernisation, which has affected not only its administration but also its theological method and its seminary formation. So it does not appear that Orthodoxy has been much more successful

than Western Catholicism in resisting the prince of this world; and Fr Schmemmann is drastic in his criticism of the Orthodox in the USA for their capitulation to the ethos of secular democracy and their failure to grasp the real nature of the Church and its life, as evinced by their complacency with the existence of eighteen nationally based overlapping Orthodox jurisdictions. Fr Schmemmann's welcome readiness to admit the failures and weaknesses of Orthodoxy in practice and his skill in reactivating theological *ankyloses* — I think in particular of his brilliant discussion of 'Byzantinism' on pp.105ff — confirm the suspicion that Orthodoxy, like other Christian confessions, has sometimes made concessions to the world, not only in practical matters but also where they can be ultimately more corrosive, in the realm of thought, and also that the profound Orthodox insights for whose conscious recovery he pleads are in fact the common property of Christendom, being equally basic and equally submerged in both East and West. It is for this reason that I believe his book has so much to offer us all. And I suggest that a joint exploration of some of the great themes which he has rescued from obscurity might do far more to further Christian unity than the weary negotiations around our historic confrontations to which we have become accustomed.

First, then, there is the truth that the basic fact about Christian existence is that, in their union with Christ, the life of the Holy Trinity is communicated to men; to recognise this transforms one's whole concept of the Church and its structure, for it is not only 'organic' but 'Trinitarian'. 'The Church is Trinitarian in both "form" and "content" because she is the restoration of man and his life as an image of God, who is Trinity' (p.164). And this means that there is no contradiction between the *conciliar* and the *hierarchical* principle. 'The Trinity is the perfect council because the Trinity is the perfect hierarchy. And the Church, since she is the gift and the manifestation of the true life, which is Trinitarian and conciliar, is hierarchical because she is conciliar' (p.165). Furthermore,

the principle of hierarchy implies the idea of *obedience* but not that of subordination [...]. The Son is fully *obedient* to the Father, but he is not *subordinated* to him. He is perfectly obedient because he perfectly and fully *knows* the Father as Father. But he is not subordinated to him because subordination implies imperfect knowledge and relationship and, therefore, the necessity of "enforcement" [...]. To ordain someone to a hierarchical function does not mean his elevation *above* the others [...]. It means the recognition by the Church of his personal vocation within the *Ecclesia*, of his appointment by God, who *knows* the hearts of men and is, therefore, the source of all vocations and gifts [pp. 156ff].

The consequences which Fr Schmemmann draws for church government will startle many. 'All contemporary attempts to limit the "power" of the clergy or to give the laity a share in this power are based on an incredible confusion'. But this is the result of a completely secularised notion of church power. 'The partisans of lay participation in church government do not seem to understand that the "spiritual power" which they acknowledge in the clergy — the power to perform the sacra-

ments, to preach, to confess, etc. — not only is *not* different from the power to administer the Church, but that it is the *same* power' (p.166). I am not sure that I fully agree with what I think are Fr Schmemmann's practical conclusions from his principle, but I am sure he is right about the principle itself. Orthodoxy in the USA is clearly threatened by a naive identification of the Christian principle of conciliarity with the secularist principle of parliamentary democracy, Anglicanism in the USA has swallowed it wholesale and has been brought to the point of disruption by it, and the General Synod of the Church of England has been deeply infected by it. I cannot do more than direct attention to Fr Schmemmann's penetrating interpretation of the way in which the parish has come to take the place formerly held by the diocese as the form of the local Church; he sees it as having a theological as well as a historical explanation (pp.173ff).

Theology, Fr Schmemmann laments, has become oddly remote from the life of the Church (an Anglican may well agree!). 'Theology is no longer the conscience and the consciousness of the Church, her reflection on herself and on her problems. It has ceased to be *pastoral* in the sense of providing the Church with essential and saving norms; and it has also ceased to be *mystical* in the sense of communicating to the people of God the knowledge of God which is the very content of life eternal.' And 'the situation of the liturgy is not much better' (p.130). Both have ceased to perform their proper function in the Church — and the reason is that they have

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become divorced from each other, the *lex credendi* from the *lex orandi*. 'Very good and knowledgeable historians, because of their theological ignorance, have produced monuments of nonsense comparable to those produced by the theologians of liturgy ignorant of its history' (p.45). There is thus 'a double task: a liturgical critique of theology and a theological critique of the liturgy' (p.140). 'The liturgical problem of our time is thus a problem of restoring to liturgy its theological meaning, and to theology its liturgical dimension' (p.145). As an Anglican subjected to modern liturgical revision I could hardly agree more.

Fr Schmemmann, in his paper delivered at the Toronto Congress on Renewal in 1967, said that theology of renewal 'must be rooted, first of all, in the recovered Christian eschatology', and this, he asserted, meant not an escape from the world but 'is the very source and foundation of the Christian doctrine of the world and of the Church's action in the world' (p.153). Elsewhere in this volume, in an absorbing essay on 'The World in Orthodox Thought and Experience', he develops this eschatological doctrine and shows how the Church avoids both a Manichaean rejection of the world as evil on the one hand and an optimistic humanist utopianism on the other. For Christianity, he maintains, the world is created, fallen and redeemed, and redeemed with a redemption 'which God accomplished in the midst of his creation, within time and history, and which by redeeming man, by making him *capax Dei*, capable of the new life, is the salvation of the world' (p.77). The 'Orthodox world' of the past, with all its deficiencies and tragedies, accepted this fact and held itself open to 'the Christian eschatological vision' as the inspiration and the soul of its existence, in spite of all its crimes, cruelties and conflicts. This dynamic world-view, of the Kingdom of God as the Beyond which nevertheless is present in time as its leaven, gradually gave way, however, to a static view which removed the Kingdom of God as a theological reality into a future beyond death or beyond the end of history, and left the world itself to fall prey to the secularism which today is virtually complete.

I cannot attempt here to criticise Fr Schmemmann's account in detail. There is much with which I agree, there are not a few questions that I want to ask: What about the Western Middle Ages? What about the sociological thought of Maurice, Gore and their successors? That it brings such questions to one's mind is an indication of the vigour and the provocative nature of Fr Schmemmann's book. I hope it may lead his readers to examine their own presuppositions as carefully as he has examined his.

E.L. MASCALL

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The Kingdom of Love and Knowledge. The Encounter between Orthodoxy and the West by A.M. Allchin (London: Darton, Longman & Todd 1979, pp.x + 214, paperback £3.95).

The many admirers of Fr Donald Allchin's writings will find much to enjoy in his new book. In outward form it is closely similar to its immediate predecessor, *The World is a Wedding. Explorations in Christian Spirituality* (Darton, Longman & Todd 1978). Both are collections of essays and addresses, composed originally for many different occasions. *The Kingdom of Love and Knowledge* possesses, however, a far closer unity of theme than *The Wedding*. Its central concern, as indicated in the subtitle, is the 'encounter between Orthodoxy and the West' — how a contact with Orthodoxy can help Western Christendom to rediscover its own true identity and vocation:

What is necessary is not so much that we should take one or two hints from the East to solve our Western problems, adding a touch of exotic, Oriental colour to the familiar pattern of our Western Christianity. No, the requirement is greater than that. It is that we should be willing to let our whole way of posing the questions, our whole set of pre-suppositions be challenged by the radically different nature of the Eastern tradition (p.52).

The Orthodox, in their turn, need likewise to be challenged by this 'encounter':

What I should like to ask my Orthodox colleagues is whether the encounter with Anglicanism, not only in its contemporary representatives but in its outstanding spokesmen during the last four centuries, may not provide them with a clue to finding new ways to expound and live their faith in a world which has been so largely shaped by ideas and forces coming from the West (p.111).

More specifically the book is, in the author's words, 'an attempt to say something about the nature of theology — how it is possible to think and speak about God in the late twentieth century' (p.1). In making this attempt, Fr Donald starts from Vladimir Lossky's classic work *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*. All authentic theology is basically mystical, inspired by a 'union of love and knowledge'; there is an integral connection between theology and prayer, between doctrinal formulations and personal experience. This is by now a relatively familiar theme, and many others over the past thirty years have been taking up and developing Lossky's thesis. But Fr Donald, in his characteristic fashion, has illustrated this familiar theme with a wide variety of not-so-familiar examples. As always, he writes with imaginative sympathy and persuasive enthusiasm. He is especially skilful at making surprising yet perceptive comparisons: between St Maximus the Confessor and Richard Hooker, or Ann Griffiths and *Starets* Silvan, or Fr Benson of Cowley and the Romanian St Calinic of Cernica.

As is natural in a collection of originally self-contained essays, the method employed is that of 'convergence' rather than systematic development. The main

point concerning the nature of theology is not so much analysed as illustrated from different authors, whether past or contemporary. Among the latter I am particularly grateful to be introduced to Nathan Scott. But the illustrations, while fascinating, leave in the reader's mind a series of unanswered questions. What, for example, is the role of 'reason' and 'intellect' in theology, and how far have these words changed their sense since the end of the Middle Ages? Do the vague but negative comments which Fr Donald makes more than once regarding scholastic theology apply to Aquinas and Duns Scotus, or only to the decadent scholasticism of a later period? And when Fr Donald says that 'there is a specific relationship between English and Romanian theology due in part to the mediating positions held by these two nations' (p.110), we are left wondering in what particular ways Romanian theology differs from contemporary Greek and Russian theology. Incidentally, there is very little in this book about modern Greek theology, apart from an isolated citation from Christos Yannaras.

It is a pity that the two initial chapters deal with the 'death of God' controversy of the mid-1960s. This gives to the opening of the book a 'dated' air, which may discourage some from reading further; whereas in fact what the author has to say is not 'dated' at all. Theologically the most weighty and closely argued section of the book is chapters 6-9, on the Anglican understanding of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and on Anglican views concerning tradition, episcopacy and comprehensiveness. The bishop is both 'the centre of the Church's unity' and 'the guardian and promoter of the Church's diversity', the 'guardian of the Church's inclusiveness' (pp.137-9). Comprehensiveness 'implies unity as well as diversity; it suggests inclusiveness and largeness of sympathy as well as mere variety of view; it suggests a movement of gathering and bringing into one' (p.153). Any Orthodox seeking to understand both the outward flexibility and the inner coherence of Anglicanism should read these pages with attention.

The book is concerned primarily with Western authors and Western problems, but these are seen always in their relation to the Eastern Orthodox tradition. There are two excellent chapters directly on Orthodox writers, dealing with St Symeon the New Theologian and Lossky. Fr Donald notes the 'remarkable similarities' between Symeon and the Wesleys (p.39), but surprisingly he says nothing about the common source which surely accounts to some extent for this affinity: both alike are indebted to the *Homilies* of Macarius. The account of Symeon's condemnation in 1009 is misleading (p.48): the main reason was not his advocacy of lay confession, but the *cultus* of his spiritual father which he instituted without ecclesiastical approval.

It is also misleading to describe the opponents of St Gregory Palamas as 'much influenced by the scholasticism of the west' (p.50). While this may be true of Prochoros Cydones, writing in the 1360s after Palamas' death, it is hardly applicable to Barlaam the Calabrian, and still less to Akindynos and Gregoras. There is little or no evidence that Barlaam was closely acquainted with either Thomism or Nominalism; the dispute between him and Palamas is not an example of encounter

between East and West, but a conflict *within* the Greek tradition, between two different interpretations of Dionysius the Aeropagite.

Fr Donald says relatively little in this book about Rome. It would have been interesting to hear his views on the current controversy going on between Roman Catholics about Palamite theology: see the articles in *Istina*, 1974, no. 3, in *Irenikon* xlviii, 3 (1975), and in *Eastern Churches Review* ix, 1-2 (1977). This is certainly an important aspect of the contemporary 'encounter between Orthodoxy and the West', and it is directly concerned with fundamental questions about the nature of theology.

'Is there', asks Fr Donald (p.88), 'a hidden Orthodoxy in the West which reveals itself in unexpected places?' We must be sincerely grateful to him for making luminously manifest so many facets of this 'hidden Orthodoxy'. This is a timely book, intensely relevant to the main purpose of our Fellowship.

KALLISTOS WARE

Multiple Echo: Explorations in Theology by Cornelius Ernst OP, edited by Fergus Kerr OP and Timothy Radcliffe OP with a foreword by Donald MacKinnon (London: Darton, Longman & Todd 1979, pp.xiv + 248, £8.95).

Cornelius Ernst is a Roman Catholic theologian whom it is difficult to fit into any accepted niche. Born in Ceylon as a descendant of the Dutch settlers, for a time an active communist, later an Anglican at Cambridge, then in 1946 a Roman Catholic, he soon entered the Dominican order, in which he acquired a heavy burden of lecturing and tuition until in 1975 he became chaplain to the enclosed second-order Dominican nuns at Carisbrooke. He died suddenly in 1977 in his fifty-fourth year. The definitive treatise on basic theological method which he might have produced remained unwritten and all that he left behind is the very varied aggregate of papers and talks which have been assembled into the present volume by two of his confraters.

Superficially they might seem to be of little relevance to the specific concerns of this journal, for, most surprisingly, in spite of the enormous range of interests to which this volume bears witness — philosophy both linguistic-empiricist and existentialist-phenomenological, the non-Christian world-religions, theological methodology, ecclesiology, Mariology, to mention only a few — and of his passionately welcoming attitude to unfamiliar manifestations of human thought and prayer, he almost gives the impression of never having heard of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The only Orthodox theologian whom he mentions is Dr Meyendorff, and him only once. Nevertheless his outlook was so open and sensitive, so contemporary and at the same time so deeply rooted in the Church's tradition, that the Orthodox will, I think, find it both attractive and illuminating.

Ernst was bitterly conscious of the lifeless and dreary condition to which Catholic theology had been reduced in the manuals of the seminaries and he looked both to the philosophy of Heideggerian existentialism for a more flexible medium of thought and expression and to Vatican II for the atmosphere in which theological renewal could flourish. But he was poles apart from the type of theologian who uses existentialist language as a smoke-screen for unitarianism and adoptionism and who takes Vatican II as a license to substitute contemporary secularism for belief in revelation and the supernatural. His strictures on the *Concilium* World Congress (ch. iv) and his drastic remarks about Dr Robinson's *Honest To God* (pp.89ff) makes that perfectly clear. But I find it difficult to share his conviction that Heideggerian existentialism provides either a metaphysically adequate philosophical system for the renewal of Christian theology or a simple and direct medium for speaking to ordinarily intelligent people today. In fact I suspect that Ernst was not quite happy about this himself and that it at least partly accounts for his own periodical obscurity. When, for example, he speaks on p.84 of 'God as the Meaning of meaning' I find myself asking 'What is the meaning of *this*?' And when he says on p.103 that 'the essential feature of this [Aquinas's] metaphysics of the act of knowing is its recognition of the active role of the mind in constituting its proper object' I wonder whether this is really meant not about Aquinas but about Kant. On the other hand he can make brilliant and illuminating remarks, from which I pick out three, to show the quality of his insight:

- (1) There is a tendency for the study of religions itself to become an independent religious mode, not simply a religion, because this study rarely allows itself to accept that wider discipline which would regulate a whole way of life; perhaps it could be called 'religion in the head', the study of religions as a surrogate for religion [p.30].
- (2) It seems possible in linguistics [...] for exponents of 'transformational grammars' to embark on elaborate procedures for formalisation in which it is difficult to decide which is more extraordinary, the triviality of the results or the naivety of the presuppositions [p.65].
- (3) Catholic ecumenism [...] is not primarily a tactic of ingratiation but a co-operate search for the plenary ecclesial sense of the whole: Catholic ecumenism is fundamentally an actualisation of the virtualities of the Catholic Church itself, in response to the demands of dialogue certainly, but even more from a still deeper recognition that the Church must become what it is [p.118].

And there are two chapters in particular which I would commend to readers of this journal. 'The Primacy of Peter' (ch.xv) describes Fr Meyendorff's study of its subject as 'absorbing'. And 'How to See an Angel' (ch. xvi), a talk whose light-hearted manner cloaks some very deep thought, suggests, on the basis of the virtually universal embodiment of the angelic song in the Eucharistic anaphora, that it is in the Eucharistic rite supremely that we are brought into vital relationship with the holy bodiless powers: 'We meet them there as it were on equal terms, not as hierarchical figures with whom we share in an emperor cult. We meet them in this kind

of democratic way where we assemble, the people of God, around the risen Christ and there actually acknowledge with them the glory of the risen Christ' (p.201).

E.L. MASCALL

Christ is in our Midst: Letters from a Russian Monk by Father John, tr. Esther Williams (London: Darton, Longman & Todd 1980, pp.xvi + 152, £2.95). *The Heart in Pilgrimage: Christian Guidelines for the Human Journey* by Christopher Bryant (London: Darton, Longman & Todd 1980, pp.xi + 195, £3.95).

These two works are both twentieth-century guides to the spiritual life, the one an anthology of letters from a monk of Valamo, the other a more lengthy and systematic exposition of Anglican provenance. Each in its own way insists on the centrality of certain themes: prayer, self-knowledge, the dangers of pride and the need for humility. Fr Christopher Bryant insists that the road to God lies through awareness of our weakness and sin. And Fr John comments – rather more tartly – that to see angels is nothing marvellous, but to see one's own sins is. Self-knowledge and a non-judgmental spirit are of course linked, since we often judge others for precisely the faults we are unwilling to recognise in ourselves. This psychological mechanism of projection is referred to by Fr John: 'A man draws conclusions about other people in line with his own tendencies, for a crooked eye looks at everything in a crooked way' (p.103). The contemporary concern with depth psychology finds its truest forerunner not in primitive methods of psychiatric treatment, but in the continuing tradition of spiritual direction, with its insights into the workings of the human personality.

Fr Christopher makes explicit use of psychological insights in his work, according to the Jungian tradition, and includes a rather intriguing appendix on modes of prayer for different character-types. The basic framework of his discussion of growth in prayer is the threefold pattern of the purgative, illuminative and unitive ways. The title of the book, and individual chapter-headings, are phrases from that loveliest of poems, 'Prayer' by George Herbert. Other literary influences are those of Chesterton, Blake, Masefield and Charles Williams: all alike offer insights into the Christian understanding of God and his world. While less eclectic in his sources, Fr John's letters are clearly imbued with a deep knowledge of the traditional wisdom of the *Philokalia* and – both directly and indirectly – with the influence of the Scriptures. The odd misconception that Orthodox are not concerned to study the Bible finds no support either from the earlier Fathers or from such a recent *starets* as Fr John of Valamo. To know the Scriptures is something fundamental and life-giving. This is clearly true for both of the present authors, and, if anything, the specifically scriptural influence seems to be more pervasive in the Orthodox writer.

ELIZABETH MOBERLY

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Geoffrey Preston OP

In this series of meditations, Geoffrey Preston shows that the liturgy cycle is no rigid formula but the very heartbeat of the Church and our Christian life. The ebb and flow of experience is repeated in our own personal Christian life, which in turn is reflected in the changes of the liturgical year.

£4.50 net

Darton Longman & Todd

The Russian Journal – II. A Record kept by Henry Parry Liddon of a Tour taken with C.L. Dodgson in the Summer of 1867, edited with an introduction and notes by Morton N. Cohen (Carroll Studies No. 3: New York, The Lewis Carroll Society of North America 1979, pp.xxiv + 52 with 2 plates, n.p.).

During July-September 1867 Liddon and Dodgson, both at that time Students of Christ Church, Oxford, went together on holiday to Russia, Liddon being thirty-seven years old and Dodgson thirty-five. Both kept diaries. Dodgson's was published in 1935, in *The Russian Journal and Other Selections from the Works of Lewis Carroll*, edited by J.F. McDermott (reissued by Dover Publications, New York, in 1977), pp.73-121. Now we also have Liddon's account of the same journey, edited with scrupulous care by Professor Morton N. Cohen, who was responsible for the recent two-volume edition of *The Letters of Lewis Carroll* (Macmillan, 1979).

Travelling out by train, the two spent altogether thirteen days at St Petersburg and fourteen at Moscow. From Moscow they visited the fair at Nizhnii Novgorod, the New Jerusalem Monastery, and also the Troitse-Sergievo Monastery, where they had an interview of an hour and a half with the aged Metropolitan Filaret of Moscow, then in the fiftieth year of his episcopate and the last of his long life. Of the two diaries, Dodgson's is the more polished in literary style and the more humorous in tone; Liddon's is terser, but he is more interested in ecclesiastical matters and more sympathetic towards Orthodoxy. Neither diary tells us very much about church life in Russia, nor can either be in any way compared with the much fuller and incomparably better informed narrative by William Palmer of Magdalen, *Notes of a Visit to the Russian Church in the Years 1840, 1841* (London 1882). But accounts of travel from past ages are almost always interesting, and those of Dodgson and Liddon are no exception.

The editor of Liddon's journal, Morton N. Cohen, is Professor of English at the City University of New York. He writes as a Lewis Carroll expert, rather than a specialist in nineteenth-century church history or Russian Orthodoxy. But he has performed his task conscientiously, supplying a helpful introduction, while in footnotes to the text he painstakingly identifies almost all the persons mentioned by Liddon. A useful supplement to Professor Morton's introduction is provided by the article of E. Kasinec, 'British Nineteenth-Century Travellers and their Moscow Friends: a Note on Sources', *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* xxii (1978), pp.16-38.

'M. Damala', whom Professor Morton fails to identify (pp.35-6), is perhaps the Greek theologian Nicolas Damalas (1842-92), who studied in London during 1865-7, and so was very probably known to Liddon. Subsequently Damalas became Professor in the Theological School at Athens, serving as Rector of the University in 1878-9.

KALLISTOS WARE

Bulgarian Monasteries by Georgi Chavrukov with photographs by Konstantin Tanchev (Sofia: Septemvri Publishing House 1978, pp.381 with 268 colour photographs and 125 black and white photographs, £13.50).

In this album are presented fifty-five monasteries in Bulgaria, distributed regionally. The introduction describes the history of monasticism in Bulgaria, and pays a tribute to the monks as those who safeguarded Bulgarian culture during the centuries of Turkish occupation. It ends with a quotation from the poet Ivan Vazov: 'The monasteries are honoured relics of the strongholds in which the Bulgarian national spirit was preserved'. Nothing is said about contemporary monasticism in Bulgaria and its place – or lack of place – in the contemporary Socialist State.

Some of these monasteries are well-known to the foreign visitor, for example Rila and Bachkovo. All have their charm. The book is an invitation to depart from the banal touristic circuit, the more so that, if the same conditions prevail in 1980 as in 1979, the foreign visitor, provided that he does not traffic in Bulgarian currency, is virtually free in his movements. He will observe that many Bulgarians also visit their monasteries, sometimes because they are pleasant places for an excursion. However he may well find the church packed on a Sunday morning. In a discreet way he can support the monks and nuns in their difficult witness to the fact that a monastery is not only a cultural monument but also the house of God.

CHRISTOPHER WALTER

He Naodomia kai he Sygkhronē Tekhne: Arkhitektonike – Zographike (The Construction of Churches and Contemporary Art: Architecture – Painting) by Kosta Kalokyris (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies 1978, pp.304 with 147 illustrations, n.p.).

As Professor of Christian and Byzantine Archaeology at the University of Thessaloniki, and a prolific writer in the same field, Kosta Kalokyris has made a significant contribution in the recent re-awakening of interest in the liturgical arts within the Greek Orthodox world. Here he attempts a (long overdue) fundamental examination of the issues involved in the building and iconographic decoration of contemporary Orthodox churches against the background of developments in modern art and architecture.

The first part of the book considers the problem of contemporary church building. Professor Kalokyris starts by mentioning what he sees as the characteristic elements in modern architecture (unity and fluidity of space, dynamic movement, free use of light) and points out the greater range of constructional methods and

materials available to the contemporary designer. This he follows by a brief look at some of the non-Orthodox church buildings of the last century. This enables him to use such material as a point of reference later in the book, though he necessarily does not aim to provide a comprehensive account of modern church architecture.

In the chapter that follows, the material used to illustrate present day church building in the Orthodox world is drawn exclusively from the Greek situation, whether in Greece or in the diaspora. Outside Greece it is in the United States that most church building has taken place, and here Kalokyris has assembled and presents material that appears for the first time in such a study. Unfortunately the quality of the photographs and sketches is not always good and often complex church buildings are discussed without ground plans.

The church of the Annunciation at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, designed for the local Greek community by Frank Lloyd Wright is studied in some detail and is thought by Professor Kalokyris to be 'the most significant example of appropriate application of the new architecture in the area of Orthodox church building' (p.116). This is likely to be disputed by many who would see a contradiction with Kalokyris's own positive and otherwise commendable case for careful consideration of issues of liturgical worship and practice in the church design brief. It is to be regretted that he has nothing to say on the excessive use of pews in the majority of the examples illustrated. At Milwaukee, for example, the circular 'auditorium' plan is taken to an extreme by the use of sloping galleries and nave.

The second part of the book deals with the problem of iconographic decoration of the contemporary church building. Here again Kalokyris feels it is essential to consider briefly the development of modern painting and art since the Renaissance. And in examining elements of iconography that have also appealed to the modern artist (inverse perspective, freedom in the use of scale, appreciation of space and light), he comments that 'if Byzantine art is respected today, we owe this to a great degree to modern art' (p.189). It is apparent to him that there are only two choices: either a church is built in the traditional style and painted accordingly; or when a modern church is designed, the iconographic style will have to be adapted for the new building. And for this the artist would require a deep knowledge and understanding of the iconographic material of the Orthodox Tradition and would have to rethink the effects of scale, light and colour. But it has to be added that there are no artists who have come up with significant results along these lines.

This is a very compact book, written in a personal and often critical way, that touches on most of the aspects of a complex problem – that of designing, building and decorating an Orthodox church today. It is a significant work which will be welcomed by all those concerned with the liturgical arts in the Orthodox world, whether architects, designers, artists, church leaders or interested laymen.

ALEXANDER FOSTIROPOULOS

Books Received

Darton, Longman & Todd, London:

Disciples and Prophets: A Biblical Model for the Religious Life by Francis J. Moloney SDB, 1980, pp.xiv + 226, £7.95.

Enfolded in Love: Daily Readings with Julian of Norwich, pp.xviii + 72, £1.50.

Faith in Jesus Christ by John Coventry SJ (Practical Theology Series), pp.56, £1.50.

Moral Decisions by Gerard J. Hughes SJ (Practical Theology Series), pp.60, £1.50.

Today's Catholic by Edmund Flood OSB (Practical Theology Series), pp.118, £2.75.

Seabury Press, 815 Second Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017:

A Communion of Communion: One Eucharistic Fellowship. The Detroit Report and Papers of the Triennial Ecumenical Study of the Episcopal Church, 1976-79 edited by J. Robert Wright, pp.xviii + 302, \$8.95.

World Council of Churches, Geneva:

Faith and Science in an Unjust World: Report of the World Council of Churches' Conference on Faith, Science and the Future, vol. 1, *Plenary Presentations* edited by Roger L. Shinn, pp.xiv + 394, £5.50, vol. 2, *Reports and Recommendations* edited by Paul Abrecht, pp.viii + 216, £2.75, 2 vols. together £6.95.

Martyria/Mission. The Witness of the Orthodox Churches Today, ed. Ion Brija, pp.xi + 255, £4.95.

Towards a Church of the Poor: The Work of an Ecumenical Group on the Church and the Poor edited by Julio de Santa Ana, pp.xxiv + 212, £3.95.

World Council of Churches' Statements and Actions on Racism 1948-79 edited by Ans J. van der Bent, pp.x + 70, £1.25.

YMCA Press, Paris:

Mysli Pered Rassvetom by V. Trostinkov, pp.360, n.p.

Prepodobnyi Simeon Novyi Bogoslov 949-1022 by Archbishop Basil Krivoshein, pp.360, n.p.

Records

Chant gregorien sung by the Deller Consort. Harmonia Mundi: HM 234 (Musicassette 40.234), £4.99.

For some years Alfred Deller and his Deller Consort recorded Gregorian chant for the French Harmonia Mundi label (as well as English music of the 16th and 17th centuries). For too long these discs were not easily obtained in Britain. But during the last year or two this has ceased to be a problem since Harmonia Mundi are developing a sales organisation in this country.

It is not altogether clear why this disc is merely labelled 'Gregorian Chant', though in the sleeve it is subtitled *Respons et monodies gallicans*. It would have been better to call it 'Gallican chants for Holy Week which have become absorbed into the Roman liturgy'. The Holy Week ceremonies originated in Jerusalem, and they were more dramatic than western ceremonies normally are. But the Jerusalem pilgrimage was enormously popular and it was inevitable that the ceremonies should spread to the west. They became established at Gallican centres: Milan was an early centre for them. Conservative Rome resisted such foreign influences for some time. But eventually it was to accept this way of reliving the last week of our Lord's life on earth. However, Rome edited and simplified the music.

Every item on this disc is sung from the Roman *Liber usualis* issued by the Benedictines of Solemnnes. My copy is of the 1932 edition, and I give page references from this. The liturgical order is not necessarily followed in the recording, nor (from the musical point of view) is it vital that it should be. But some indication of the original sequence might be of value.

The recording begins with part of the Palm Sunday hymn of Bishop Theodulf of Orleans ('All glory, laud and honour', p.588), although the antiphon *Cum audiset* (p.586), which describes the entry into Jerusalem, should properly precede it. The responsorium *Collegerunt* (p.579) is given 'in place of the gradual'. The *improperia* with the *trisagion* (alternating in Greek and Latin) belong, together with all the items on side 2, to the Mattins of the last three days of Holy Week: they are sung at night and accompanied with a dramatic ceremony which gives them the title *Tenebrae*. *Improperia* (p.704) is sung on Good Friday, as is *Omnes amici* (p.671). *Tristis est anima mea* (p.630) belongs to Maundy Thursday, while *O vos omnes* (p.727) and *Ecce quomodo* (p.728) are part of Holy Saturday. For *Tenebrae factae sunt* (p.680) we are back in Good Friday. The last item is the reading from the end of the Jeremiah 'Lamentations' (p.719), where Jerusalem is exhorted to return to the Lord. This is sung to the alternative chant, not to the very much simplified chant which is given first in the *Liber usualis*.

The only item on this record which is duplicated on the Archiv recordings from The Ambrosian Chapel at Milan Cathedral (2553 284) is *Tenebrae factae sunt*. Here again the Roman version is simpler than the Ambrosian original. Yet sufficient of

the Ambrosian spirit is left in this sensitively sung sequence to make it a moving way of following Holy Week with the Church. Many will prefer it to the harmonised versions which are more familiar.

BASIL MINCHIN

Easter on Mount Athos. Abbot Alexios and the Community at Xenophontos Monastery on Mount Athos (recorded 1978). Archive Recordings 2553 443 (*Good Friday and Easter Saturday*); 2553 313 (*The Celebration of the Night before Easter**); 2553 446 (*Vespers on Easter Sunday*), £5.50 each, available separately.

I feel sympathy for the three Germans who went to Athos to record these services and to make notes on which the sleeve notes could be based. They have caught the atmosphere of worship with the monks, but they have been confused by the way that the liturgical observances do not always take place at the time suggested by the biblical accounts. Perhaps no one at Xenophontos was interested enough to explain how the pattern became distorted, how the practice of fasting distorted the timing so that morning and evening services changed place, and how new devotional material on the original time pattern was added later. Perhaps in these circumstances it was wise to concentrate on two things: noises and (on the first disc in particular) hymns which match the action.

The Good Friday side of the first disc is taken from the morning service where there is a sequence of twelve passages from the Gospels, at the heart of which are three accounts of the Crucifixion. Between each reading are several hymns which meditate on the action described in the Gospel passage. The full text of the two groups recorded is printed in the notes.

The second side of this first record has hymns from the Epitaphios Service, otherwise known as the 'Burial Service of Christ'. This is one of the most dramatic services in Holy Week, as is also shown by the Slavonic version of it which has been recorded at the Russian cathedral at Ennismore Gardens (London) on Ikon 5. It is usually celebrated on Good Friday afternoon.

I have asterisked the second disc because I reviewed it last year (*Sobornost/ECR* 1:2) when it alone was issued. This is where the 'noises' come into their own. Wood and metal simandira are beaten to join the church bells in greeting the Resurrection. But some of the vigil service is also heard.

There are more 'noises' of a gentler kind on the third disc: there is even the inevitable late-comer shutting the door. Now that Lent is past, Easter Vespers is back at its normal time, but it is a shorter service than usual, and it is full of Easter song. A special feature of this service is that the Gospel is read or sung in as many languages as people can be found who speak them in order to indicate that the Gospel

will be preached to all the world. For these recordings only Greek and Latin are used. The Gospel passage is divided into three sections and each is sung first in the one language, then in the other, with a handbell rung between each section.

The Xenophontos Monastery was one where the number of monks declined to such a degree that a few years ago it became depopulated: a community from the mainland was invited to transfer to the Holy Mountain to bring the monastery to life again. Its musical and liturgical traditions therefore cannot be claimed as specifically athonite. On the other hand the music is in a good Greek monastic tradition and the voices of the twenty monks are young and fresh.

It may be worth noting that for the notes the Greek is first translated into German, then retranslated into English: so 'Hail gladdening light' (for example) emerges as 'Thou gentle light of holy majesty'. For 'beginners' with Byzantine plainsong who cannot afford all three records, the third of the set is particularly recommended.

BASIL MINCHIN

Exhibitions

Icons at Oxford

Beneath the Dean's garden at Christ Church, Oxford, where once Lewis Carroll's Alice played, an art gallery was contrived in 1967 to hold the college's paintings. Earlier this summer (11 May-22 June) the gallery mounted an exhibition of more than fifty icons, some Greek, mostly Russian. The inspiration and nucleus of this display was the generous gift by C.R. Patterson of his icons to his old college. For the occasion the Patterson icons were supplemented by loans from collections in London, Oxford and elsewhere. Dr Nicholas Gendle, who was responsible for organizing the exhibition, has written a comprehensive, learned and absorbing catalogue (*Icons at Oxford*, xxv + 106 pages, £1.25), which will be a record of this occasion and also an essential guide to the Patterson Collection.

The oldest icon on view was the graceful late Byzantine Raising of Lazarus, more usually to be seen among its Italian contemporaries at the Ashmoleum (cat. no. 1). The Patterson Collection, by contrast, is made up of more recent Russian icons. There is little of the sentimental style often associated with icons of the past few centuries, though the divine figures above the Seven Sleepers (cat. no. 44) do float on a candyfloss cloud. Indeed some of these paintings (for instance the cream and olive-green image of the patriotic saints Aleksandr Nevskii and Olga) exemplify a purist reaction which preferred the sober representation of archetypal realities to the superficial evocation of a transient experience.

A starker piety is differently expressed in more than sixty metal icons. Despite their vast popularity among the nineteenth century faithful, very little has been

written about them, as the catalogue points out. The delicate metalwork and gleaming enamel of the finest of these icons, the rigid and powerful miniature figures of others, make these metal images a fascinating study.

An unusual piece which, like them, provides a sober invitation to prayer is a North Russian depiction of the Cross in a church (16th-17th century, Stuart coll., cat. no. 31). Other provincial Russian icons lent to the exhibition, such as a 16th century St Dimitrii (Axia Gallery, cat. no. 9) are redolent of folk painting. Fine icons in metropolitan styles from both Moscow and the provinces were also well represented. Memorable among the Greek exhibits were a large grave St Anthony, robed in brown (c.1600, Axia Gallery, cat. no. 53) and a St George, all red, gold, green and purple, who might have galloped straight out of the pages of a Cretan folk epic (early 17th century, Ashmoleum, cat. no. 56).

Icons are seldom seen in British public galleries. Exhibitions such as this provide a chance not just to view works of art: more people may come to appreciate that icons are painted not merely to be looked at but to be prayed through. The Christ Church Gallery, Dr Gendle and those who lent their icons to this exhibition deserve thanks for providing the means to a deeper appreciation of several streams of Orthodox spirituality.

OLIVER NICHOLSON

Marjory Wardrop Fund

The following books are available:

THE KINGDOM OF GEORGIA:

Notes of travel in a Land of Women, Wine and Song
by Sir Oliver Wardrop

£8.50

THE GEORGIAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

by E. Cherkesi

£2.50

THE CATALOGUE OF THE WARDROP AND GEORGIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

by David Barrett

£15.00

Details from the Secretary: the Marjory Wardrop Fund, University Offices,
Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD.

Fellowship Affairs

The Fellowship's president

After twenty-five years of service as president, Bishop A.M. Ramsey has requested that his resignation be accepted by the Council with effect from the end of May 1980. He wrote:

It has been a wonderful privilege for me to be president of the Fellowship [...] but now I feel the time is right that I should relinquish the presidency [...]. I am deeply grateful for all the friendship which the Fellowship has given to me and deeply conscious of what it has meant for Christianity in many aspects.

The Council at its May meeting recorded the indebtedness of the Fellowship to Lord Ramsey 'after so many years of encouraging service' and a unanimous expression of thanks was extended to him.

A new president

Archbishop Runcie has kindly agreed to succeed Lord Ramsey in office, and the legal acknowledgement of this fact has been made by Council. We are naturally delighted that the Archbishop of Canterbury has so readily expressed his willingness to be associated with the work of the Fellowship in this way. While the legal passage of office has taken place, the more human 'handing over' will take place at Lambeth Palace on 25 March 1981 (see *For your diary*), when Lord Ramsey will give the first of the Fr Lev Gillet Memorial Lectures.

Fr Lev Gillet

Fr Lev died peacefully on 29 March 1980. We are grateful to God for Fr Lev's endearing service in house and chapel (he celebrated the Liturgy on the morning of the day he died), his clarity of mind, his physical well being and his devotion to Fellowship and family. An epoch in Fellowship history, as well as in a number of other spheres of activity, has come to an end with Fr Lev's death.

His body lay in the chapel of St Basil's house before the funeral and many people came to pray there. A service at midday on 9 April preceded the departure of the cortege for the Greek cathedral of St Sophia. There the service was conducted by assembled clergy led by Bishop Timothy Catsiyannis, and an address was given by Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh (a French translation of which is given in *SOP* of May 1980, pp.20-2). A choir from the Russian cathedral sang the paschal funeral service. Fr Lev was buried at Kensal Green Cemetery, London W10 (not far from St Basil's House). In due course the grave will be appropriately marked.

The Fellowship's secretary would be grateful to receive copies of any obituary notices which appear.

Fr Lev archive

It has been decided to establish at St Basil's House a *Fr Lev Gillet Archive*: its function will be to collect and to make available Fr Lev's writings and other material connected with him. Anyone who possesses writings, letters, reminiscences or any other item by, to or about Fr Lev is invited to deposit them in the archive. Monetary donations are invited to make effective not only the establishment of the archive, but also of a small scholarship fund to encourage interest in the life and work of Fr Lev. To those who have already responded generously in terms of gifts, published materials, letters and reminiscences we are most grateful.

Fr Lev Memorial Lecture

We hope that each year, on or about the date of Fr Lev's death, a Memorial Lecture will be given after the Fellowship AGM. As noted above, Lord Ramsey has agreed to give the first of these on 25 March 1981: he will speak on 'The Communion of Saints'.

The Annual General Meeting

The AGM was a happy and worthwhile occasion, a time for the presenting of accounts, for the renewal of offices and for the election of new blood to strengthen our Council. It was a pleasure to invite the Rt Revd Henry Hill to become a vice-president of the Fellowship. Bishop Hill, who has been a Fellowship member for many years, was recently appointed to be the new Anglican chairman of the Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Discussions.

The following were elected unanimously to the Council: *Revd Donald Barnes* (Anglican parish priest), *Mrs Helen Brock* (associated with our work in Oxford and elsewhere, not least in Syriac areas), *Revd Roger Cowley* (a regular contributor to *Sobornost* on Ethiopia), *Mrs Eirene Crook* (secretary of our Bristol branch and member of the Greek Orthodox parish there), *Mrs P. Eckersley* (sometime secretary of the Association for Promoting Retreats), *Revd John Innes* (responsible for many of the Fellowship's filmstrips), and *Dr John Newton* (formerly principal of a Methodist theological college and now minister of Kingsway Hall, London).

It was reported that the Council had met on four occasions during the year (with an average attendance of twelve members). Four of its members resigned in the course of the year, and gratitude was expressed for their work. The Council had admitted 147 new members to the Fellowship in 1979-80.

A benefaction

A most generous benefaction has been received from Miss Anne Spalding, details of which will be given in connection with the annual accounts for the year 1980-1. This will support a wide range of Fellowship activities in accordance with the wishes indicated by the donor. The Fellowship is deeply grateful.

GARETH EVANS

The Library of the House of St Gregory and St Macrina, Oxford

The Library of the House of St Gregory and St Macrina, Oxford, has for sale a selection of duplicate back issues of periodicals concerning Eastern Christianity. These include extensive holdings (but not complete runs) of the following:

Messenger de l'Exarchat du Patriarche Russe en Europe Occidentale; Sobornost; Religion in Communist Dominated Areas; Research Materials on Religion in Eastern Europe; Russian Orthodox Journal; St Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly; Star of the East; Christian East (New Series; a few issues only of the Old); *Eastern Churches Quarterly*.

Further details concerning the exact numbers available may be obtained from: The Librarian, St Gregory House, 1 Canterbury Road, Oxford OX2 6LU (telephone: Oxford 54844).

For your diary

Some information on the activities of the Fellowship at its headquarters in London and elsewhere during the coming months. For additional information please contact the Fellowship's Secretary.

Council Meetings

Meetings are to be held at St Basil's House on the following dates at 5.30 p.m.: 16 October, 4 December 1980, 21 May, 15 October 1981. In addition there will be a meeting at High Leigh during the summer conference (2.30 p.m. 9 August 1981). On 5 December 1981 a day conference is planned for Council members and branch secretaries. This will take place at St Basil's House from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Annual General Meeting

The AGM will take place at Lambeth Palace on Wednesday 25 March 1981. The programme is divided into several parts: 5.15 Annual General Meeting; 6.00 Even-song; 6.45 The handing over of the President's office by the Rt Revd and Rt Hon Lord Ramsey to the Most Revd Robert Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury; 7.00 The first annual Fr Lev Gillet Memorial Lecture to be given by Bishop A.M. Ramsey on 'The Communion of Saints'; 8.15 President's Reception. INVITATION TICKETS will be issued on application to the Fellowship's Secretary. While there is no charge, it is suggested that applicants should send £2.00 to cover the costs of the occasion. Any balance will be used for the Fr Lev Gillet Archive Fund.

Buffet Receptions

The Council Meetings of 16 October, 4 December 1980, 21 May and 15 October 1981 will be followed at 7.30 by a buffet reception. These are planned in order that members of the Fellowship who are visitors to London might meet members of the Council as well as each other. It is helpful to know in advance from anyone who might be able to attend.

Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh

The Metropolitan will celebrate Vespers at 7.30 in St Basil's House chapel and speak at 8.00 in the library on the following dates: 9 October, 13 November, 11 December 1980; 8 January, 12 February, 12 March, 9 April, 7 May 1981. He will continue his course on 'The Message of the Saints'.

Services

Details of services in the chapel of St Basil's House (including celebrations of the Orthodox Liturgy) may be obtained from the Secretary.

Annual Liturgy at St Albans

The annual Liturgy at St Alban's Cathedral will be held on Saturday 20 June 1981 at 11.30 a.m. The Orthodox Liturgy will be followed by prayers at the shrine of St Alban. A buffet lunch will be available afterwards (to be booked in advance).

Fellowship Retreat

The Retreat, to be conducted by an Orthodox, will take place at Pleshey 10-12 April 1981. Application forms will be available from January 1981.

Fellowship Conference

The 1981 Conference is to be held at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, Herts. 3-10 August. The programme will be available after Easter 1981. You are advised to book early in order to avoid disappointment.

Study group

A study group will meet for discussion of 'Bishops in Eastern Christendom' at 7.30 on the following dates at St Basil's House: 23 October, 27 November 1980; 22 January, 26 February and 19 March 1981. The final session will be devoted to an illustrated lecture by Fr Christopher Walter (Paris) on 'Bishops in Byzantine Art'. Details from the Fellowship's Secretary.

Music seminars

Two open seminars will be held at St Basil's House: 'What is church music?' (29 January 1981) and 'On borrowing church music: the implications' (2 April 1981). Experts will be present to guide discussion; there will be music to hear and to perform. Coffee from 6.30: please bring your own sandwiches.

Christmas party

A Christmas party will take place at St Basil's House from 7.30 on 18 December 1980. Carols, readings, punch and pies. Guests are welcome: please inform the Secretary if you are able to come. Literary and musical contributions are invited.

Iona pilgrimage

An Orthodox/Anglican pilgrimage is planned for 30 August-5 September 1981. Fellowship members and friends are invited to share in it together with members of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association. Details from the Fellowship's Secretary.

Pushkin Club

Some joint meetings with the Pushkin Club are planned. A programme of the Club's activities is available from its Secretary at 46 Ladbroke Grove, London W11 2PB.

Easter 1981

A week separates the two celebrations of Easter in 1981: the Western Easter is on 19 April, the Eastern on 26 April.

GARETH EVANS

Our contributors

Mrs Anne Borrowdale, Formerly graduate student, University of Durham.

Dr Sebastian Brock, Lecturer in Syriac and Aramaic, University of Oxford.

Revd Dr Louis Bouyer of the Oratory: formerly professor at the Institut Catholique, Paris and the University of Strasbourg; currently lecturing at the University of San Francisco.

Revd Ronald Creighton-Jobe, Priest of the London Oratory, Brompton.

Revd Colin Davey, Anglican Secretary of the Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission; vicar of St Paul's Church, Harrow.

Revd Gareth Evans, Secretary of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius.

Mr George Every, Teaching at Oscott College, Warwickshire; formerly joint editor of *ECR* (1967-78).

Revd Alexander Fostiropoulos, Design consultant (Lewes, Sussex) and deacon of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Miss Helle Georgiadis, Editor of *Chrysostom*; joint Secretary of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1946-58.

Revd Dr Joseph Gill SJ, Formerly rector of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome; now at Champion Hall, Oxford.

V Revd Lev Gillet, Late Orthodox chaplain of St Basil's House, London; priest and scholar.

Mr Nigel Gotteri, Lecturer in Linguistics, University of Sheffield.

Mr Isa Gülcan, Teaching at the school in the Syrian Orthodox monastery of Mar Gabriel.

Mr Bernard Hamilton, Senior Lecturer in History, University of Nottingham.

Mr J.-M. Hornus, Lecturer in the Theology of Mission and Ecumenism, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham.

Mrs Ann Loades, Lecturer in Theology, University of Durham.

Revd Dr Eric Mascall, Formerly Professor of Historical Theology, University of London; editor of *Sobornost* 1937-46.

Revd Basil Minchin, Former Secretary of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius (1960-8); Six-Precar in Canterbury Cathedral.

Mrs Alison Milbank, Teaching Religious Studies at the Coopers Company and Coburn School.

Mr John Milbank, Research student at the University of Wales (Lampeter).

Dr Elizabeth Moberly, Guest member of Lucy Cavendish College, Cambridge.

Revd Dr Robert Murray SJ, Editor of *The Heythrop Journal*; Lecturer in Scripture, Heythrop College, University of London; formerly joint editor of *ECR* (1968-74).

Mr Oliver Nicholson, Research student at Wolfson College, Oxford.

Revd Robert Ombres OP, At Blackfriars Priory, Cambridge.

Mr Andrew Palmer, Research student at Wolfson College, Oxford.

Revd Norman Russell, Priest of the London Oratory, Brompton; review editor of *Sobornost/ECR*.

Revd Dr Christopher Walter AA, Member of the Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, Paris.

V Revd Dr Kallistos Ware, Spalding Lecturer in Orthodox Studies, University of Oxford; formerly joint editor of *ECR* (1967-78).

Revd David Widdows, Philip Usher Scholar in Greece (1978-9).

The views of each contributor are his or her own and the editorial board does not necessarily agree with them.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF ST ALBAN AND ST SERGIUS

LOCAL BRANCHES AND CHAPTERS

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Cornwall	Revd P.L. Eustice, St Stephen in Brannel Rectory, St Austell.
Durham	Mr G. Bonner, Abbey House, Palace Green, Durham.
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	Very Revd C. Gray-Stack, Kenmare Parsonage, Kerry.
	Mr J.F. Murtagh, 76 Butterfield Ave, Dublin 14.
	Dr J. Douglas, 6 Barriedale Avenue, Hamilton.
Scotland	Mr G. Flegg, 20 Clapham Rd, Bedford MK41 7PP.

Anyone interested in establishing a local branch of the Fellowship is invited to contact the Fellowship's Secretary for information.

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS

<i>Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom</i> , music edn., enlarge (1980).	£2.00
Chitty, D. (tr.), <i>The Great Canon of St Andrew of Crete</i>	30p
Gillet, L., <i>The Burning Bush</i> (Retreat Addresses)	30p
Mayfield, G., <i>An Anglican guide to the Orthodox Liturgy</i>	15p
Minchin, B., <i>Survey of Recordings of Orthodox Music</i>	10p
Monk of the Eastern Church, <i>On the Invocation of the Name of Jesus</i>	30p
Zernov, N. & M., <i>The Fellowship of St Alban & St Sergius</i>	50p

Back numbers of *Sobornost* are available, as are back numbers of *Eastern Churches Review*. *Sobornost* incorporating *Eastern Churches Review* is published twice a year. Annual subscription £4.00.

STUDIES SUPPLEMENTARY TO SOBORNOST

1. <i>Orthodoxy and the Death of God. Essays in Contemporary Theology</i>	40p
3. <i>Theology and Prayer. Essays on Monastic Themes presented at the Orthodox-Cistercian Conference, Oxford 1973</i>	50p
4. <i>The Harp of the Spirit. Poems of St Ephrem</i> (tr. & intr., Brock, S.)	50p

PUBLISHED FOR THE FELLOWSHIP

<i>Manual of Eastern Orthodox Prayers</i>	£1.50
Monk of the Eastern Church, <i>Orthodox Spirituality</i> (1978)	£2.50
<i>Orthodox Liturgy, The</i>	£1.50
<i>Sacrament of Holy Matrimony of the Holy Orthodox Church</i>	20p
Zernov, N., <i>The Russians and their Church</i>	£2.50

The Fellowship Bookroom stocks a wide range of publications in English and other languages. There is always a plentiful selection of current publications dealing with the Christian East, as well as theological and ecumenical studies of a more general nature. Moreover, any book in print can be supplied on request. The Fellowship Secretary is pleased to receive 'wants lists' and to supply bibliographical information. The Bookroom is located at St Basil's House (52 Ladbroke Grove, London W11 2PB). The telephone number is (01) 727 7713.

Fellowship Membership is open to all those who accept the conditions which are set out on the Application Form. Members subscribe to *Sobornost* at (currently) £4.00 per annum. They are also asked to donate at least £1.00 annually towards the work of the Fellowship. The Fellowship itself is a charitable institution, legally incorporated as a company with limited liability. The Application Form may be obtained from the Secretary, who would also be glad to supply a descriptive leaflet (as well as Covenant and Banker's Order Forms).

Fellowship Funds. The Fellowship administers three small funds.

The Miss Hill Request 'for promoting the study of the Anglican Church by members of the Eastern Orthodox Church'.

The Anne Spalding Travel Fund 'to help people to travel to Orthodox countries to study there'.
The St Basil's House Library Fund to maintain the Fellowship's library.

In each case the capital is invested and the interest used for the purpose indicated. Gifts or bequests which would augment such funds would be most welcome. The Fellowship Secretary (St Basil's House) would be pleased to supply further information.